



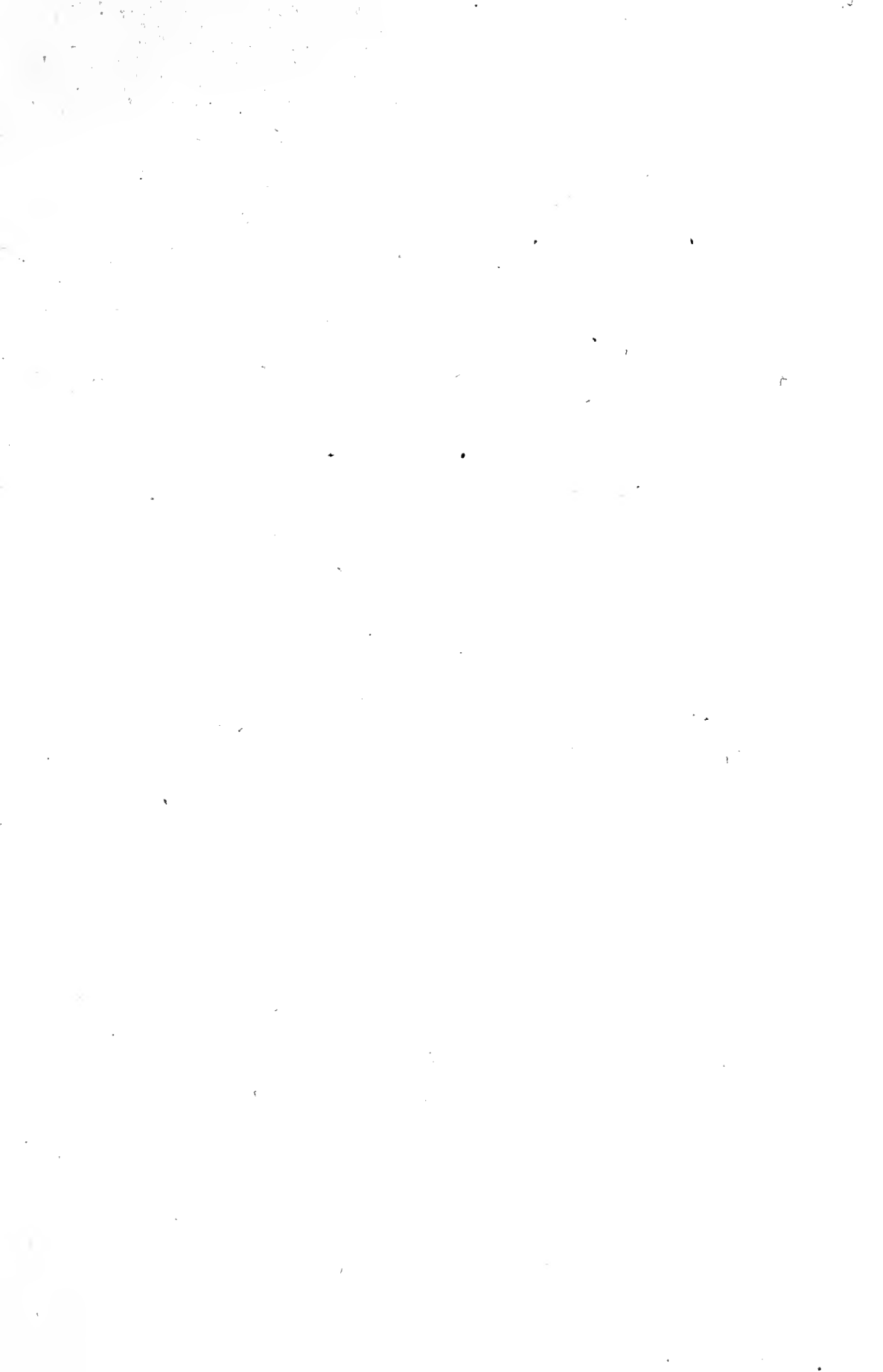
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# The City Club Bulletin

## Volume IX

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# The City Club Bulletin

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DWIGHT L. AKERS, Editor

VOLUME IX

MONDAY, JANUARY 10, 1916

NUMBER 1

## THE POLICE IN STRIKES

### I. REPORT OF A DISCUSSION AT THE CITY CLUB, DECEMBER 15, 1915, BY ALDERMAN ROBERT M. BUCK, AND COLIN C. H. FYFFE.

Since October 25, 1915, there has been pending before the City Council a report (reprinted on page 9 of this Bulletin) which, if adopted, would commit the city to a new police policy in connection with strikes. This report was the work of the City Council Committee on Schools, Fire, Police and Civil Service, which, on October 4, had been instructed by the Council to investigate alleged police brutality in the garment-workers' strike. The conclusion of the committee was that "the fundamental difficulty does not lie with the individual police officer, but is found in the prevailing method of policing strikes." The committee, therefore, instead of dealing with specific instances of alleged police brutality proposed certain important modifications in police methods. In order that the report might be dealt with on its merits rather than in a controversial spirit, and in order that it might not be construed as a means of influencing the existing strike situation, consideration by the Council was delayed until after the conclusion of the garment workers' strike.

The issues presented in this report were discussed before the City Club on December 16 by Alderman Robert M. Buck of the Council Committee on Schools, Fire, Police and Civil Service, and Colin C. H. Fyffe, attorney for the Illinois Manufacturers' Association, which is opposing the adoption of the report. Prof. F. S. Deibler, chairman of the City Club Committee on Labor Conditions, presided. Alderman Buck was the first speaker. He said:

*Ald. Robert M. Buck*

"Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen: The report pending before the City Council

recommending the adoption of a permanent new policy to govern the police of Chicago in industrial disputes, contains a program which, so far as I can learn, has not been suggested in any other city. It was the outgrowth of the garment workers' strike, which is now just about to end, but it is in no way connected with that strike, except that it owes its origin to charges concerning alleged brutalities of the police toward the strikers, which were investigated by the City Council Committee on Schools, Fire, Police and Civil Service, of which I am a member. In the investigations by that committee, testimony from witnesses on both sides was taken. A very great number of strikers, sympathizers and onlookers were brought in who had bruised faces and had apparently been handled with roughness by the police. Their stories were very detrimental to the manner in which the police had handled them. On the other hand, a great many policemen came in and denied the stories of the strikers and said that while in many instances they had handled strikers roughly this had been necessary because they could not quell riots upon the streets without doing so in some instances, and that they were very sorry that had to do it.

#### A CONSTRUCTIVE INQUIRY

"We saw that we were not going to get far by simply listening to these charges and countercharges. But we thought if we could get at the things that were fundamentally wrong we might do some good, and from that moment we addressed our efforts to finding out what these things were.

"One incident had more to do with the framing of the committee's recommendations than all the testimony taken at the hearings. A riot had taken place in a hall at Wood and Blucher streets, where the strikers had been holding a meeting. I was called up from the headquarters of the Garment Workers' Union and told that private armed guards had entered the hall and started to assault strikers, that a riot call had been sent in and that when the police came they refused to arrest the men who had started the disturbance and instead aided them in beating up and arresting strikers.

"I called up the chief of police and the assistant chief but each refused to accompany me to the scene of the disturbance to make a first hand investigation. So, with Sidnev Hillman, leader of the strikers, I went to the hall, where a part of the crowd still remained, and after some inquiries discovered that the riot had not started in the hall but on the street corner just outside. The police informed me that a garment worker from Kuppenheimer's on his way home had been assaulted by strikers leaving the meeting. I called on the man who it was alleged had been assaulted and found that he was not a garment worker but a private guard. According to his story, it had been his duty to escort to and from work every day three girls, non-union garment workers, and he had been assaulted while taking these girls home from work.

"I then called upon the girls and was told the same story. None of the girls had been struck, however, nor had anybody hit the guard while they were there—after the disturbance started they ran away. One of the girls said, upon being asked, that they were supposed to be through with their work at half past five but that they had been sent home each day at half past three—she did not know why. She had wished, she said, they would not do this: 'Because every day the strikers hold a meeting in the hall where the riot happened and at half past three the meeting is adjourned. We knew that some day there would be trouble.'

#### WHAT THE INQUIRY SHOWED

"Out of this investigation we found first that private guards of the garment manufacturers were being permitted to do police duty upon the streets of Chicago without authority of law. We found secondly that policemen not in uniform and displaying no badge of authority were helping put down disorder upon the streets and were being confused in the minds of the strikers with private armed guards of the manufacturers. And we found in the third place that the Kuppenheimer company was deliberately, each day, two hours before their work was finished, sending three young girls escorted by one of these armed guards past the hall where the garment workers were meeting to consider their grievances, at just the hour for adjournment. Why were they doing it?

"Another thing we found out was that two motorcycle policemen at the plant of Lamm & Co. were actively engaged every afternoon in loading up the automobiles that were used to transport non-union workers out of the strike zone. Instead of doing the impartial police duty they were supposed to do, remaining there simply to see that no laws were broken and no disorder occurred, they were performing active service for the manufacturers—one of the parties to the strike.

#### POLICE PARTIAL TO EMPLOYERS

"We found that policemen on the corners were advising the strikers to go home, saying 'The strike is lost. You cannot win. Why don't you go back and get your jobs?' We found the police in these ways allying themselves on the side of the employers.

"A very typical incident illustrating the attitude of the police was the experience of Attorney Waterman. During an altercation with a policeman Mr. Waterman asked the officer to show his star to prove he had police authority. The officer refused and said tauntingly that he (Waterman) could not do anything to him for refusing.

"So the committee gave up any attempt to deal with specific cases of alleged brutality by policemen toward

strikers and tried instead to deal with conditions. A report upon the testimony which had been heard was accordingly adopted by the committee and was submitted to the City Council at its regular meeting, October 25th, 1915.\* In order that the constructive plan proposed by the committee might be considered sanely and calmly and at a time when the aldermen presenting it might not be charged with trying to foment trouble, its consideration has been delayed until there shall be no disorder upon the streets.

#### PRIVATE GUARDS

"The recommendations of the report are ten in number. The most important one was practically agreed to before the committee was in session a half a day. Before half a dozen witnesses had been heard, the majority of the committee was convinced that the time had come for the private armed guard in the policing of strikes to go. (Applause). The committee felt that it was undignified for the City of Chicago to permit any other police than its own to keep order and peace in times of strike.

#### THE STRIKE BUREAU

"The second was along this same line. The sub-committee determined that the two most important things in policing a strike were, first, to determine the rights of the strikers and the employers, and, second, to preserve those rights impartially and to act upon neither side. In order that those rights might be determined and that the police department might act intelligently and constructively, the report recommended the creation of a strike bureau in the police department, consisting of employees of that department, to investigate strike conditions in this and other cities, inform themselves concerning methods of strikers, employers and policemen, and keep the head of the department informed as to the movements of labor and of organized capital.

#### THE POLICING OF STRIKES

"The third major recommendation was that at the outset of a strike, the Chief of Police should call in for conference, upon the single question of policing the strike, the leader of the strike and a representative of the employers. At that

conference, which should not be held with one side unless the other should have first refused to come, the representative of the men and the Chief of Police would determine upon the number of persons to be permitted to picket peacefully around each plant, and the employers' representative and the Chief of Police would determine upon the number and details of the police guard to be placed around each plant or wherever police protection was needed, there being no private police.

"Of the other recommendations of the report, one was that no plain-clothes men should be permitted to do active strike duty, that they should in emergencies display their badges conspicuously, and that, if necessary, special policemen—hired, not by the manufacturers but by the police department, and wearing special badges and clothed with police authority—should be sworn in to put down disorder.

"However, the three principal recommendations I have named are the backbone of that report and form the program for a new constructive policy for policing strikes, which, if adopted by the City Council, will henceforth govern the police department in dealing with industrial disputes." (Applause).

#### Colin C. H. Fyfe

"I am very glad to have Alderman Buck as an antagonist in this little debate, although I know, as he knows, that there is not the slightest likelihood of my being able to convince him or his being able to convince me. We may, nevertheless, be of some use in presenting our very divergent views on this whole matter.

"I do not think that the garment workers' strike has the slightest thing to do with this discussion. It makes no difference, so far as the issue of the report is concerned, whether the police have been unfair in their treatment of the strikers or the strikers have been unfair in their treatment of the police, or whether the non-union workers have assaulted the strikers or the strikers have assaulted the non-union workers. We

\*Council Proceedings, pages 1789-1792. Reprinted on page 9 of this Bulletin.

must forget that there is or has been such a thing as a strike of the garment workers. The question is, What manner of thing is this program that is put up to the City Council and to the law-abiding and law-respecting townsmen of Chicago.

#### A PROGRAM OF LAWLESSNESS

"In the first place, I say it is putting up the most extreme piece of lawlessness that ever has been before the City Council—certainly in the last fifteen or twenty years. It seeks in the most ingenious and subtle way to subvert the discipline of the police force and to put up class against class in the community. It seeks to take up one side of the dispute against another, looking upon the strikers as invariably in the right and the employer invariably in the wrong.

"It takes away from the Chief of Police the power that is given him under Section 1921 of the Municipal Code—a power that lies, so far as I know, in the Chief of Police of every big city in the country—of appointing special policemen to meet special emergencies, if the police department is unable to do its whole duty.

"The result of this is to strip the employer of the special police attention he has been in the habit of getting for many years, then of the ordinary police assistance, and last of all to put him at the mercy, whenever a strike occurs—not merely of the strikers, who are his very natural antagonists at the time—but of the special policemen who are picked out for the purpose of supporting his antagonists in the strike. Those are a lot of generalities, of course, but they can be supported by reference to the terms of this report. The whole tone of the report I consider to be one of unfairness to the manufacturers and subversive of all discipline and order in the police department.

#### WHY IS THERE A "FEUD"?

"The report says, foreshadowing the proposal for a strike bureau:

"There is an undefined and unintentional feud between the police and strikers."

"I never heard of an unintentional feud in my life. And why speak of a

'feud' between strikers and police. I do not think for a moment that strikers are lawbreakers as such—every man has a right to strike if he wants to. If there is a 'feud' it is because certain of the strikers are lawbreakers, because there are lawbreakers in any strike of any dimensions; and, if that is so, naturally there is feud between the police and the lawbreakers or between the police and the great body of strikers who are perhaps not lawbreakers.

"The report goes on to speak of the use of strikebreakers. Strikebreakers, so far as I have seen them—my information may not be as definite as that of others—have not been employed to battle the strikers but to take their places and thus break the strike. They are characterized thus in the report:

"They are the ordinary type of imported 'strike breakers,' used in many strikes and widely known from past history as the type of men too often used by employers in strikes to incite riot among otherwise peaceable strikers."

"I have never known a manufacturer who was such an ass as to import men to incite riots with strikers. But that shows the tendency of this report.

"The report also says:

"Members of the regular force, in plain clothes, gave assistance to the uniformed men in suppressing disturbances."

"Why in heaven's name, not? Members of the police force in plain clothes assisted uniformed officers in suppressing disturbances! Exactly what they are there for!

#### WATCHING STRIKERS' MEETINGS

"A shot is also taken at the ladies who have honored the police force by joining it:

"Police women attended meetings of strikers incognito to report to the first deputy superintendent of police concerning the proceedings."

"You must remember that the great majority of the strikers are foreigners—that they are, of course, persons of not a very high type. They have not had the advantages of American education and the environment of American institutions. They come here under all those handicaps. It is not any wonder then that the assistant chief of police



would want to have their meetings guarded. He is not going to send there a regiment with a flag in front of it to find out what they are doing. They must work like any other secret service force in trying to find out what is wrong. Such a stand as this report takes is utterly unwarranted.

#### THE STRIKE BUREAU

"Now, I come to the most important recommendation of the whole report, the creation of a strike bureau. I find it hard to deal with this in terms of seriousness. The report recommends the creation and maintenance, from year to year of a permanent strike bureau in the police department—as permanent as the water department or the water pipe extension division at the City Hall, which has been in existence since 1837. The report provides:

"That a strike bureau be created in the police department, the details to be worked out by the Council Committee on Schools, Fire, Police, and Civil Service, in conference with the heads of the police department, to consist of such number of members of the police department as may be necessary to collect information and statistics and to study comprehensively the methods of strikers, employers and police in strikes and lockouts in this city and in other cities."

"So far it does not sound much like a police matter; it sounds more like a scholastic study which a commission might very advisably undertake—but not a commission of members of the police force. The report continues:

"It is recommended that this bureau be created on the theory of appointing to its membership policemen who will not be distasteful to the recognized leaders of the union labor movement in Chicago, nor to the employers."

"Those last four words I look upon as sheer bunk!" (Laughter.)

"... and with a view to having an arm of the police force whose members will cultivate the acquaintance of union leaders and keep in touch with the union movement with the end in view of overcoming the feeling of hostility between union men and women and police, and with the view of developing strike-handling policies in recognition of the fact that union men and women are not criminals, but are law-abiding citizens, and that the police are for the performance of police duty and nothing else."

#### MUST SATISFY UNION LEADERS

"Who is going to appoint the members of the bureau? They are not to be appointed by the Chief of Police or the Mayor. They are to be appointed by the union leaders of Chicago; because, according to the report, the men who are to be appointed must not be distasteful to those union leaders. The city must ask the union leaders who are to be on this strike bureau, just as the Mayor must ask the City Council to ratify his appointments. No matter what the strike, whether it is a strike of the garment workers or on the traction company or the Pullman Company, or whether it is the delightful thing known as a jurisdictional strike—you must first find out from the union leaders whether the men to be appointed on this permanent bureau are distasteful to them or not. It puts the whole thing practically at the mercy of union labor. If union labor were the best thing in the world—assume it, if you wish—you cannot turn the police force over to it with safety to yourselves or to the city.

"I was introduced as the representative of the Illinois Manufacturers' Association, which in a way is true; although in what I have said on this ordinance I represent nobody's views but my own. I will say, however, that I believe that the Manufacturers' Association asks for absolutely nothing except the merest impartiality between the employers and the persons who are on strike. They simply ask that the law be carried out impartially between them, and if anybody commits a breach of peace and is arrested, they will be perfectly satisfied—whether it pinches their toes or the toes of the strikers." (Applause).

Following Mr. Fyffe's address, the chairman announced that each of the speakers would be given an opportunity for a rejoinder. He called upon Alderman Buck who said:

#### Alderman Buck

"Mr. Fyffe did precisely what I expected him to do. I forebore reading the report because it would consume too much of my twenty minutes. I left it to him to read, believing full well that he

would only read such portions as he cared to and lead you to believe that that was the whole report. He has evaded and 'gummed' the issue and led you to believe that the members of the committee of the City Council who wrote this report are a lot of 'I. W. W.s' or anarchists who seek to turn the police over to the vice trust or the arson trust or some other gang of criminals or corruptionists and leave the town at the mercy of thugs.

#### HOW TO GET IMPARTIAL POLICE

"That is not what the report says at all—even according to his own reading of it. He says in one breath that the strike bureau is to be permanent and in the next leads you to believe that it is a separate bureau in every strike and that in each you must ask the heads of the unions whether they approve the policemen who compose the bureau or not. In one breath he says he is for impartiality and in the next denounces the recommendation of this report—which is the only way in which you can get impartiality. He brought out in his argument that the police are not impartial in handling strikes now. Then why does he want the police department to be deprived of information in laying out their policies of policing strikes? Why does he not want the police department to have a bureau for the collection of strike information? It is very obvious why he does not. Because he is satisfied with the manner in which strikes are policed now.

#### IS THIS "BUNK," AND WHY?

"He read this from the report:

"It is recommended that this bureau be created on the theory of appointing to its membership policemen who will not be distasteful to the recognized leaders of the labor union movement in Chicago, *nor to the employers.*"

and then he said that the last four words were bunk! Why did he say that? They are not bunk unless they are made so by the fact that the police are not now distasteful to the employers for some special reason.

"In reading what he called the charges of the report (which are not charges at all but merely a statement

of facts upon which the recommendations are based), he read that 'There is an undefined and unintentional feud between the police and strikers'—and he stopped there. Why didn't he read the rest:

"the result, in the opinion of the committee, of years of incorrect handling of strike situations. This is indicated by a feeling on the part of the strikers that the police are their natural oppressors and of a reciprocal feeling on the part of the police that the strikers are their natural enemies. This statement of finding was amply supported by the testimony and demeanor while testifying of practically every witness."

#### REPORT UNFAIRLY PRESENTED

"Why didn't he give you all of that instead of picking out the particular part he wanted for the purpose of directing jeers and laughter at this report, which is the most serious and constructive piece of legislation that the Council has had before it for a long time. I shall ask those of you who are interested to read this report. I wish I had the time to tell you how in every instance but the one concerning the strike bureau he picked out the part of the section to which he directed your attention, and did not read the whole.

"The Manufacturers' Association and the Associated Employers of Illinois, which are directing particular shafts at this plan, object to the strike bureau, because it gives the police information and because it is aimed not only to compile information for the police department but to try to bridge over the chasm between workingmen and the police which has resulted from the incorrect handling of strikes; because it seeks to bring honest union labor up to the point where it will not be branded by the employer as being composed of criminals and vicious men.

"And then he is reserving this for his closing: He is going to say that this plan legalizes peaceful picketing and he is going to point out that that is a great detriment to the town. I only want to point out this to you, that peaceful picketing is legalized by decisions of courts and is recognized by the police at present, who permit strikers to picket peacefully in the interests of their jobs.

# WHAT IS A STRIKE-BREAKER?

"Mr. Fyffe points out that strike-breakers, those gentle men, are brought in here for the purpose of doing work that the strikers have refused to do. Any one who has followed industrial conditions in Chicago for the last dozen years knows that strike-breakers are not of that sort at all. They are men like 'Yank' Kenney, who was brought over here by a garment manufacturing company for the purpose of slugging men and women. *That* is what strike-breakers are." (Applause).

Mr. Fyffe replied as follows:

## Mr. Fyffe

"I am not going to say what the Alderman thought I would. Instead, I am simply going to ask you, as he has asked you, to read that report. I can assure you that it is important enough to read, not, in my judgment, as a suggestion for the greatest constructive piece of legislation that has appeared for many years in Chicago, but as a document more full of the pepper of anarchy than any I have ever known to be presented to the City Council. I ask you to read it from your own personal standpoint, whatever that may be, and to get from it whatever conclusion you may."

The chairman opened the meeting for questions and a general discussion ensued. At the request of Mr. W. D. Wollesen, Mr. Fyffe again read the section of the report relating to the duties of the special strike bureau.

## DUTIES OF THE STRIKE BUREAU

Mr. Wollesen: "I understood you to give the impression that this special bureau would have a great deal to do with the handling of strikes. Do you find anything in there like that?"

Mr. Fyffe: "Yes, I do."

Mr. Wollesen: "Read the part that says so."

Mr. Fyffe (reading):

"... with a view to having an arm of the police force whose members will cultivate the acquaintance of union leaders and keep in touch with the union movement with the end in view of overcoming the feeling of hostility between union men and women and with the view of developing strike-handling policies.

"That to my mind, unmistakably contains the idea that the methods of handling strikes should be left to the bureau."

Mr. Wollesen: "The reason I asked the question was that, in my opinion, the purpose of the proposed strike bureau is simply to get information on strikes—and the only way in which such a bureau could get information is to get in touch with the labor men. I got the idea from your interpretation that the bureau is to handle strikes. My understanding is that the bureau is simply to recommend to the police department how to handle them. I want that brought out, because it is a vital point. There is nothing needed so much as knowledge and information on the part of the police as to how other cities are handling strikes without violence on the part of the strikers."

Mr. Horace Bridges: "I would like to ask Mr. Fyffe if it is a fact that private armed guards are used by the employers without the authority of the police department and whether he approves of the suggestion to get rid of them."

## PRIVATE GUARDING CONDEMNED

Mr. Fyffe: "If the guards are appointed by the Chief of Police, under Section 1921 of the Municipal Code, and the police department itself is not supplying a sufficient number of men, I agree with that policy. I have no belief whatever that the manufacturers should employ armed guards who are not detailed directly or indirectly by the Chief of Police. I think it is a rotten bad system all the way through. I think our police force should be large enough so that there would be no need for special men appointed by the Chief of Police under Section 1921. I think that it is far better to have the policing handled by the department and that the use of men not appointed by anybody at all is a bad system."

## WHY A POLICE BUREAU?

Mr. Earl Hales: "If the only function of the strike bureau is one of education, of ascertaining facts, it seems to me that it ought to be composed of men from other walks of life. The City Council ought to determine the policy

and if the Council does not know the facts, it might create a bureau consisting of men qualified to ascertain them. What is the idea of imposing this function upon the police department?"

Alderman Buck: "One of the advantages is that of having a permanent bureau. Another is that, since the investigations that this bureau conducts will be made by the police department itself, the findings of the bureau are more likely to be binding upon the department. It is not suggested here that the strike bureau shall be limited to the present members of the police department, nor are any of the other details worked out.

"The working men and women and the police should not be foes, and I think it is essential as a means of bridging over this chasm that the strike bureau should be a part of the police force."

#### POWERS OF PRIVATE GUARDS

Mr. E. M. Moore: "Is it not true, Mr. Fyffe, that guards holding special commissions are supposed to be confined to the premises of the person who employs them?"

Mr. Fyffe: "My recollection is that under Section 1921 they are so confined, except to pursue for arrest; they have the general powers of a policeman."

Mr. Moore: "And if such a guard had a concealed weapon on his person, he is subject to arrest?"

Mr. Fyffe: "Yes, subject to his intention for carrying it."

Mr. Moore: "Do you think that is a desirable condition?"

Mr. Fyffe: "I think the whole strike situation in Chicago is undesirable. There is only one good situation for any city and that is that the police should arrest all law breakers indiscriminately and impartially. There should be no guarding of any kind except by members of the regularly constituted police force; members on the pay roll permanently."

Alderman Buck: "If we keep at it long enough we will agree absolutely."

#### PICKETING

Mr. Dudley Taylor: "Mr. Chairman, I hope that the members of the City Club will not leave with the idea that they have heard this subject fully discussed. I can assure you that the dis-

cussion today has merely scratched the surface. The Alderman is in error in saying that peaceful picketing is held lawful by this state. On the contrary, our Supreme Court, in the case of Barnes versus the Chicago Typographical Union, 232nd Illinois, which is the latest expression on the subject, expressly ruled that it would be unlawful. The Alderman disregards the unlawful purpose which may be behind peaceful picketing. If the purpose is to effectuate an unlawful act, it matters not the means. This ordinance seeks in every way to legalize peaceful picketing, irrespective of its lawful purpose. That is just one point which I would like to call to your attention."

Mr. Wolleson: "I might call attention to the fact that the Barnes case is not decided."

Mr. Peter Sissman: "I should like to ask Mr. Taylor if he thinks it is the policeman's duty to examine the picketer's mind to find out whether or not the arrest ought to be made? Isn't it his duty to make the arrest when there is a breach of the peace—and doesn't his duty stop there?"

Mr. Taylor: "Answering the gentleman very briefly, it seems to me that the police strike bureau is made the judge of the picketing which is to be permitted. The report expressly says that *'the strikers will be permitted a specified number of peaceful pickets at each plant or place where there is a strike, to picket under police protection, such number to be determined by the police and by the union officials.'* The employers have no voice in the matter."

Alderman Buck: "Let me answer that."

The Chairman: "Alderman Buck would like to make a statement."

#### WHY NOT GIVE BOTH SIDES?

Alderman Buck: "I do not think Mr. Taylor ought to bring in here the same kind of argument that he sent out in this communication (exhibiting a letter) that he marked 'Not for publication,' when, as general counsel of the Associated Employers of Illinois, he organized the present lobby of employers against this plan. He enclosed with his

communication a copy of the recommendations of the report, containing in large type and underscored heavily with black ink the sentence he has just read. And he left in inconspicuous type that part which he *failed* to read just now and which is as follows:

*" . . . that the guarding of non-union employes shall be done by the regular police department when such guarding is necessary, the police and the employers to determine when necessary and the*

*number and details of the guard, the union officials having no voice?* (Laughter and applause).

Mr. Taylor: "Mr. President, so as not to carry on the debate to a late hour, I will say that this question of guarding is another point and one into the details of which we could go with considerable profit to ourselves, if time permitted."

The meeting was thereupon adjourned.

## THE POLICE IN STRIKES

### II. REPORT OF CITY COUNCIL COMMITTEE ON SCHOOLS, FIRE, POLICE AND CIVIL SERVICE, TO THE COUNCIL.\*

CHICAGO, October 23, 1915.

TO THE MAYOR AND ALDERMEN  
OF THE CITY OF CHICAGO  
IN CITY COUNCIL ASSEMBLED:

Your Committee on Schools, Fire, Police and Civil Service, who were directed by the terms of a resolution adopted by Your Honorable Body October 4, 1915 (page 1555 of the Journal of the Proceedings of said date) to investigate the alleged brutal conduct of the police and the unfair attitude they are charged with having assumed in the garment workers' strike, and to report the result of such investigation to Your Honorable Body, beg leave to submit the report hereto attached, including sundry recommendations, and to recommend that said report be concurred in:

After hearing a number of witnesses, both strikers and police officers, the committee is convinced that the fundamental difficulty does not lie with the individual police officer, but is found in the prevailing method of policing strikes, and that, compared with this phase of the question, the individual complaints against individual members of the police department were relatively unimportant. Therefore the committee made no attempt to gather convincing proof against individual policemen. The committee found, from the testimony, the following conditions, which it considered important in the consideration of the problem before it:

1. There is an undefined and unintentional feud between the police and strikers, the result, in the opinion of the committee, of years of incorrect handling of strike situations. This is indicated by a feeling on the part of the strikers that the police are their natural oppressors and of a reciprocal feeling on the part of the police that the strikers are their natural enemies. This statement of finding was amply supported by the testimony and demeanor while testifying of practically every witness.

2. Apparently unwilling to rely upon the efficiency of the Police Department of the City of Chicago, practically every one of the larger firms affected by the strike hired private guards, some of whom were appointed "special patrolmen for special duty" under Section 1921 of The Chicago Code of 1911, some of whom were hired through detective agencies and some of whom were hired directly by the firms themselves. These private guards, referred to by many of the witnesses including some policemen, as "sluggers" are the ordinary type of imported "strike-breakers" used in many strikes and widely known from past history as the type of men too often used by employers in strikes to incite riot among otherwise peaceable strikers. One of them was described as a former prize fighter and it was stated that he slugged

\*Reprinted from Council Proceedings of October 25, 1915, pages 1789-92.

a striker on the back of the head and on the jaw. These private guards make their headquarters in the plants and accompany nonunion workers to and from their homes. In some instances they are lodged in the plants of the firms employing them.

3. The private guards employed by the clothing firms are allowed to roam the streets and to congregate in groups outside the doors of the premises upon which they are employed and to assist the police in suppressing disturbances.

4. Slugging by members of the police department and other rough treatment of strikers, was charged in many instances by the strikers and denied by the police. That strikers were roughly handled was admitted in some instances by the police, although they made the defense that in each of these instances the strikers were the aggressors. This was, in most instances, denied by the strikers. The committee dismissed consideration of individual complaints, but found that the attitude of some of the police is such that it could be expected only to result in the rough handling of strikers on slight provocation. Such situations are often intensified by the size of the crowd.

5. According to testimony, partisanship was expressed against the strikers by policemen in conversations between the former and the latter. This also was denied by the police.

6. Testimony was that a few policemen used improper, profane and obscene language in the presence of and directed to girl strikers. This was denied by the officers against whom the charges were made.

7. Police rode their horses and motorcycles on the sidewalk among the crowds of strikers.

8. Members of the regular force, in plain clothes, gave assistance to the uniformed men in suppressing disturbances.

9. Policewomen attended meetings of strikers incognito to report to the First Deputy Superintendent of Police, concerning the proceedings.

10. Representatives of only one side—the employers' side—were in conference at any time with the General Superintendent of Police. The General Su-

perintendent of Police stated that the employers' representative came to headquarters without invitation.

Based upon these findings and upon the testimony, the committee recommends that the method of policing strikes and lockouts in the City of Chicago be conducted in future along the lines set forth in the following detailed recommendations:

1. It is undignified for the City of Chicago to permit any other police than its own police to keep the peace unless an uprising occurs that it is obvious the police cannot handle. It is recommended that no private policing of strikes or lockouts be permitted by either the strikers or the employers.

2. It is recommended that, if the employment of special policemen becomes necessary in any strike or lockout, the special police so appointed be special policemen of the Police Department of the City of Chicago under Sections 1919 and 1920 of The Chicago Code of 1911, and not special patrolmen employed by either side to the controversy under Section 1921 of the code.

3. That a strike bureau be created in the Police Department, the details to be worked out by the Council Committee on Schools, Fire, Police and Civil Service, in conference with the heads of the Police Department, to consist of such number of members of the Police Department as may be necessary to collect information and statistics and to study comprehensively the methods of strikers, employers and police in strikes and lockouts in this city and in other cities. It is recommended that this bureau be created on the theory of appointing to its membership policemen who will not be distasteful to the recognized leaders of the union labor movement in Chicago, nor to the employers, and with a view to having an arm of the police force whose members will cultivate the acquaintance of union leaders and keep in touch with the union movement with the end in view of overcoming the feeling of hostility between union men and women and police and with the view of developing strike-handling policies in recognition of the fact that union men and women are not criminals but are

law-abiding citizens, and that the police are for the performance of police duty and nothing else.

4. It is recommended that the General Superintendent of Police, prior to the calling of a strike or lockout, invite into his office for conference, representatives of the unions and the employers simultaneously, for the purpose of discussing the policing of the strike, and that he at no time confer with representatives of one side except in the presence of representatives of the other side, unless one side shall have refused to attend; bearing in mind that the police are the police of the union men and women as well as of the employers. It is recommended that each side be informed at such conference that no slugging will be tolerated; that the strikers will be permitted a specified number of peaceful pickets at each plant or place where there is a strike, to picket under police protection, such number to be determined by the police and the union officials, the employer to have no voice; that the guarding of non-union employees shall be done by the regular police department when such guarding is necessary, the police and the employers to determine when necessary and the number and details of the guard, the union officials having no voice.

5. That no members of the police department attend meetings of strikers incognito, is recommended. Such meetings should be attended by members of

the strike bureau, if at all, in full uniform, or at least with a police badge prominently worn.

6. It is recommended that no plain clothes police be permitted to engage actively in strike or lockout duty; but that all police actively engaged in such duty be uniformed except in real emergencies, and that, in such emergencies, any un-uniformed policemen have their police badges prominently displayed.

7. That no person upon either side of an industrial controversy be permitted to carry arms or weapons of any kind and that it be the theory of the police department in dealing with industrial questions that the carrying of weapons by either strikers or non-union employees be summarily dealt with.

8. That the ordinances against impersonating officers be strengthened so as to prevent the wearing of clothing or badges that at a reasonable distance might deceive one into believing a civilian to be a police officer.

9. That police be not permitted to do any work for either side in an industrial controversy and that they maintain the strictly impartial practice of preserving the peace.

10. That an order be issued and strictly enforced forbidding the police to discuss the merits of the strike while on duty with parties to the controversy.

Respectfully submitted,

(Signed) THOMAS J. LYNCH,  
Chairman.

## THE "MANDEL SUB-BASEMENT" ORDINANCE

Danger to life and limb in case of fire or panic, possible injury to the health of workers and shoppers from confinement in artificially lighted and ventilated salesrooms and objectionable methods of securing special privileges from the public were the reasons offered in opposition to the so-called "Mandel sub-basement" ordinance, now pending before the City Council, at a City Club discussion on this subject Tuesday, December 28. Those who spoke against the ordinance were Richard E. Schmidt, former County Architect and a member of

the 1905 and 1911 Building Code Commissions, the former of which drafted the present ordinance on this subject; Miss Harriet Vittum, Civic Director Woman's City Club, and Allen B. Pond, architect, also a member of the 1911 Building Code Commission. Arguments for the ordinance, indicating the provisions for health and safety in the construction and equipment of the sub-basement in question, were presented by William H. Sexton, attorney for Mandel Brothers, and E. A. Renwick of Holabird & Roche, architects of the build-

ing. Judge Stephen A. Foster presided.

The State street building occupied by Mandel Brothers' department store was constructed in 1912. It was built with a second basement, thirty-two feet below grade, with a well-hole in the center forty feet square. The use of such a floor for the retail sale of goods was forbidden by the Building Code of 1905 and is still illegal under the ordinance of 1911. It has, however, ever since it was constructed, been used for this purpose. In 1913, the city brought suit to enforce the ordinance, and this litigation is still pending, the right of the city to pass the ordinance, however, having been upheld by the Supreme Court.

On January 16, 1915, an ordinance amending the Building Code was introduced in the City Council, legalizing, in general terms, the use of sub-basements for the retail sale of goods under certain conditions, the conditions specified, however, being those existing in the Mandel Brothers' sub-basement. This amendment was referred to the Building Committee of the Council, and on December 10, 1915, was reported favorably by that committee by a vote of nine to five.

On December 20, the Health Committee of the City Club sent to the City Council the following letter in opposition to the ordinance:

TO THE CITY COUNCIL OF CHICAGO:

The Committee of the City Club on Public Health, having had under consideration the pending ordinance (Pamphlet No. 486), intended to authorize the use of a sub-basement as a sales room, believes that this ordinance should not be approved.

We believe that in the interest of both patrons and employes all spaces below the street level, being shut off from any direct communication with outside light and air, and being dependent thus upon special devices for the essential conditions of health, comfort and safety, are for these reasons

creases with every story added downw sub-basements should not be permitted to be used as such sales rooms in any part of the city.

Respectfully,

COMMITTEE OF THE CITY CLUB ON  
PUBLIC HEALTH.

By A. J. CARLSON, *Chairman*.

Other objections to the ordinance were not dealt with, being outside the special province of the committee.

A letter opposing the ordinance has also been sent to the City Council by the Housing Committee of the Woman's City Club.

At the City Club meeting above referred to, the first speaker, Mr. Sexton, attorney for Mandel Brothers, briefly summarized the existing ordinance and mentioned several considerations in its favor and then requested permission to reserve his time until after the other speakers had finished. He was followed by Richard E. Schmidt, who said:

*Richard E. Schmidt*

"When I was a member of the committee which drafted the ordinance prohibiting the use of sub-basements as salesrooms, I was of the opinion that the principal objection to such an arrangement is the danger to life and limb in the case of fire, an explosion or accident to the mechanical equipment. If a pipe or connection of a refrigerating installation breaks, the fumes resulting from the escape of the refrigerant and which are heavier than air settle to the floor, and as these machines are usually in the sub-basements these fumes might affect many of the occupants.

"The bursting of a steam or water pipe might easily make the switchboard inoperative and stop the operation of ventilating fans and elevators at the time of a fire.

"The smoke, flame and heat from a fire in a sub-basement will naturally follow the only means of escape, such as the stairs and elevator shafts and to a much greater extent than in the upper stories of the building, for these have windows and a great deal of the smoke will escape through windows in upper stories. In the sub-basement, smoke is likely to fill the entire space as well as the stairs and elevator shafts.

"I regard it as dangerous to permit the gathering of large numbers of employes or shoppers in stories below the ground, where egress must be by stairs, inclines and mechanical lifts, on the ground that in case of fire or smoke and resulting panic the danger is greater than it is in stories above ground.



"It is obvious that whatever danger staircases may involve in case of panic for a crowd going down, the difficulty is certainly greater in the case of people climbing stairs. Climbing 32 feet is like climbing to the fourth floor of an ordinary apartment house, and the nervous strain and tendency to faint or collapse is considerable. Elevators cannot, in the event of an alarm or panic, lift a considerable crowd from a series of stories below the ground with sufficient speed to avoid serious results.

"Advocates of the use of sub-basements for salesrooms will claim that the stairs will be enclosed and protected by fire doors, but the doors must be opened for escape and will then be natural means for the escape of smoke, traveling in the same direction as the persons endeavoring to escape.

"Obviously in the stories above the ground there is a possibility of access to the outer air at the windows. There are ladders and fire escapes by which to escape from smoke. No such possibility exists in stories below the ground, ventilating apparatus operating far too slowly for fire emergencies with the resulting smoke.

"There is not much danger of death from smoke on fire escapes, but no similar means can be provided for sub-basements; every additional stair must be enclosed and becomes another shaft which smoke will seek.

"I consider the use of well holes more of a menace than advantage, and the fact that they have been permitted above ground should not be an argument for their use in stories below the ground.

"The advocates of using sub-basements for salesrooms will claim that my fears are only conjecture. This is true, but we certainly cannot court an experiment which is likely to have a disastrous result.

"The fire in the Paris Charity Bazaar, occurring about twenty years ago, was a terrible proof of the danger of limited exits in a building on street grade, where one would think there was less cause for jamming than in a building above or below grade.

"After the Iroquois fire and the Eastland disaster, faults in construction were

quickly recognized, and it appears to me that the difficulties of escape are fully as easy to appreciate in the case of sub-basement salesrooms." (Applause.)

### *E. A. Renwick*

Mr. E. A. Renwick, architect, of the firm of Holabird & Roche, which designed and built Mandel Brothers' store, and a member of the 1911 commission, explained the provisions for sanitation and safety in the sub-basement. Provision had been made, he said, for a circulation of 2,000 cubic feet of air per hour per person (equivalent to twenty square feet of floor space), more than double the amount which Dr. W. A. Evans, then Commissioner of Health, in a conference with representatives of Mandel Brothers, when the plans for the building were being drawn, had stated was necessary. Tests in the sub-basement at the most crowded times, he said, showed not over six parts of carbon dioxide to 10,000 parts of air—equal almost to street conditions and better than the conditions prescribed by Dr. Evans, the then Commissioner of Health, as satisfactory, namely, ten parts in 10,000. The air circulation, he stated, is better even than in the floors above.

Mr Renwick in discussing means of egress in case of fire, stated that so far as stairways are concerned provision is made in excess of city requirements. The city ordinance requires seventeen lineal feet of stair width in the basement and not only is this provided but two of the stairs are enclosed, making them, according to the ordinance, equivalent to two additional staircases. The basement thus has the equivalent of twenty-seven lineal feet of stair width. Nine elevators, Mr. Renwick said, go down into this sub-basement, and there is also a sloping passageway from the sub-basement to the shipping room on a higher level. The building is thoroughly equipped with an automatic sprinkler system which is under careful inspection all the time.

In regard to possibility of panics, Mr. Renwick said that whether any architect could provide against all contingencies of this character was very doubtful in his mind. "There is," he said, "no

floor of any building used by crowds of shoppers which is free from the danger of panic. All that we can do is to make the best possible arrangements for fire protection and ventilation, so as to safeguard these places against danger to life and limb and to health." In concluding he said: "At the time the building was constructed, Mr. Holabird, Mr. Roche and I were all of the opinion that we had done everything that could be done to make the sub-basement safe and sanitary and we consider now that it is both safe and sanitary."

Mr. Renwick stated that, as he saw it, the pending ordinance was general in its terms and could be used by other stores than Mandel's, specifically the Boston Store, Marshall Field's, Rothschild's and perhaps others.

### *Harriet Vittum*

Miss Harriet Vittum, Civic Director of the Woman's City Club, told of the action of the Housing Committee of that organization, after a thorough investigation of this subject. She said that the committee had inspected the sub-basement and had been shown the ventilating apparatus and the safety appliances and that a demonstration of the quality of the air was also made for their benefit. "In many way," said Miss Vittum, "it was a very satisfactory basement, although the moving stairway, which Mr. Kelly (the manager) said would be converted into a regular stairway in case of fire, did not work as rapidly as Mr. Kelly thought it would and although a torch applied to the sprinkler did not melt it quite as soon as he expected." "Mr. Kelly told as very frankly," Miss Vittum said, "that they knew when they built the building that it was in violation of the building ordinances."

On the basis of its investigations, the committee on December 13 addressed a letter to the City Council, reciting that the salesroom in question was built with full knowledge of all concerned in direct violation of the building ordinance and protesting against the pending amendment "which legalizes this violation of the law."

Allen B. Pond was the next speaker.

### *Allen B. Pond*

"Building ordinances are passed under the police power of the state, a power not capable of exact definition, but used for the protection of the public from dangers of various sorts. Originally used in a negative form to abate nuisances, the police power has become naturally and properly extended, in a positive form, to prevent conditions which might create danger to the public. The particular section of the Building Code which is now in question has been to the Supreme Court and the court has affirmed the right of the public to enact legislation of this type. There is no question, therefore, of our having strained a right of the community in the enactment of such legislation.

"The first question with regard to this ordinance is that of sanitation. The last word on this subject will not be said for some time to come. We do know certain things. We know that plants and men thrive where they have a certain amount of sunlight and that neither thrive as well when deprived of it. We know that anemic conditions exist and certain diseases flourish in places where there is a lack of light. It is an open question, then, how far we shall artificially create conditions for workers or others in which no direct light is afforded.

"It is possible to supply mechanically a given amount of air in motion to a basement or sub-basement, and we do that sort of thing where we have to. But the presumption is always against a procedure of that sort—where you take a chance on health—and always in favor of its prevention, unless there is a reasonable necessity for it.

"Next is the question of safety: We cannot avoid fire or panic or the smoke, which is perhaps more dangerous than fire, but that is no reason for our undertaking to fight panic, fire and smoke under adverse conditions, where no necessity can be argued. It is possible, in stories above ground, to get access to fresh air. You can break a window and have a chance to breathe while you collect your wits and get ready to make a break for the next point. That sort of thing is not possible in a thoroughly

enclosed place, such as a basement or sub-basement. There you must depend, if there be smoke, upon your sense of geography, your wit and whether or not there is a panic. No mechanical device can take care of the smoke. Men may be suffocated in smoke where there is a comparatively small blaze and where there has not been direct heat enough to set off a sprinkler head. That point must be considered with great care if you are planning to place a large number of people in the sub-basement of a building.

"Of course the conditions in a sub-basement of this sort are not the same as those in a transportation subway. In a subway, you have a thoroughly fire-proof structure, with presumptively fire-proof trains. There is no accumulation of combustible material and the danger from fire and smoke is at a minimum. In a basement shipping or salesroom, however, the amount of combustible material is multiplied and the danger from fire and smoke is absolutely unavoidable.

"In a sub-basement, there will be a tendency to create in the minds of the people a state of panic greater than would be likely to occur in the stories above, where they at least have the consciousness, correct or not, that because they are above ground they have a better chance to get out. Obviously, the psychology of the situation is in favor of panic under conditions of the sort that we are now discussing. When you have to climb the equivalent of three or four flights of stairs with women and children (women unwisely trying to save what they have with them) the opportunity for trouble is multiplied. Why should you create that opportunity without warrant of necessity?

"The ordinance provides for a well-hole between the basement and sub-basement. A building with the stories cut off from one another and with enclosed passages about the elevators gives you some chance to avert the danger from smoke. I should add to that the greater danger of panic spreading from story to story. But where you have an open well-hole leading from one story to another, the chances of panic are multiplied.

"Now, there is another line of argument: For many years we have been talking about congestion. We have been arguing that it was unfortunate that so many people should congregate in one part of the city, handicapping the means of transportation, movement on the sidewalk and so on. It was estimated in New York some time ago that, if a panic were to occur in certain portions of the city, the people would be eight feet deep on the sidewalk. We are not as bad off as that in Chicago, but we are facing this problem of congestion, and to allow an owner of property, without the warrant of necessity, to use his property so as to add to that congestion, may be detrimental to the interests of the entire public. Our high buildings are bad enough. Why dig occupied stories down into the ground?

"The ordinance adopted in 1905 contained the existing ordinance provision relating to the use of basements in department stores. During the years between 1905 and 1911, the ordinance was subjected to vigorous discussion from all directions, and as a member of the 1911 commission I do not recall any great debate in 1911 on this section or any strong effort to change it. The majority opinion was overwhelmingly against any change. It was felt that the issue had been met, that the public mind was made up, and that there was no need for a change, so the ordinance stands today as originally framed.

"Now I submit that there is no sound reason today for a change in policy. It cannot be said that this amending ordinance does not establish a precedent. You cannot allow one man to use a sub-basement for commercial purposes and permanently deny that right to others. Either you will ultimately revoke the one, or—much more likely—you will extend the privilege. You are creating, if you adopt this, a change in policy for which there has been no general advocacy and for which no sound argument has been advanced.

"If it is legitimate to make this change, the only proper procedure is to change the general policy. The proposed ordinance is not a general one. The pending amendment expressly says: 'Pro-

vided, however, that in all *existing* buildings of fire-proof construction'—and the further language of the ordinance itself describes specifically the conditions existing at Mandel Brothers' sub-basement. That highly objectionable well-hole, for instance, is referred to simply because it describes this one sub-basement. To be brief, we are not confronting a revision of an ordinance on its merits, with a full consideration of all questions involved. We are confronting simply a privilege to be granted to an individual to violate the general rule.

"What is the effect of this sort of thing? We are confronted constantly in the building department, in the building committee of the City Council, in the Council itself, by people asking for the privilege of violating a general rule. The result of this is to throw all certitude to the winds and to substitute whims for law—you have no law. More than that, you elect men to govern you and then impose on them a constant and wholly unnecessary strain by subjecting them to demands for special privileges—a thoroughly vicious method of government. Such procedure penalizes every man who obeys the law and puts a premium upon the man who brings pressure to bear to get a special privilege. I submit that the only proper way to take this proposition up is by a general ordinance changing the general rule.

"As Miss Vittum pointed out, it is conceded by Mandel Brothers that in 1909, when the plans of this building were made, they knew what the law was and took a chance on the violation. It is said in their behalf that the Mayor intimated to them that he would do his best to get the law amended and that they depended somewhat on that. That again, I submit is a thoroughly vicious procedure. No Mayor has a right to violate the law either by written or other promise. The fact that the law was consciously ignored properly deprives the people who are now asking for relief, of the sympathy which they might otherwise possibly claim, even on a request for a special privilege taken up in advance of the fact.

"It is my judgment that the general policy has not been properly reviewed;

that no sound arguments have been advanced for a change of general policy; that this is manifestly a special privilege for a special existing building, not a general amendment to the ordinance; and that such an act is absolutely opposed to public policy." (Applause).

### William H. Sexton

Mr. Sexton in his reply charged that those who had spoken against the ordinance had created in the minds of the audience "a fictitious place, like the Black Hole of Calcutta, where people are constantly subjected to danger to life and limb." He denied that the sub-basement is unhealthful or unsafe.

"When this building was being planned," Mr. Sexton said, "the matter of having the ordinance changed was taken up with Mayor Busse. The Mayor said that the Council committee was in the final stages of its report on the building ordinances, and he did not want to open up the matter at that time; but that both he and the Health Commissioner were satisfied for Mandel Brothers to go ahead and build the building—not to use the space, but to build the building—and that later the amendment of the ordinance could be taken up. Is there anything wrong in this? It is the use of this space that we are talking about, not the construction of the building.

"The building was built with a well-hole connecting its first basement with this sub-basement, thirty-two feet below the surface of the street level. Mr. Pond makes the statement that the well-hole itself is unsafe. Then Marshall Field's building ought to be destroyed, for it has a well-hole connecting all the salesrooms from the main floor up to the twelfth or fifteenth story. Is that safe? According to Mr. Pond, no.

"The safest places in the building, outside of the main floor, are the basement and the sub-basement. I will come back for a vote of censure and ridicule, if you will go there and can say this is not so. There are elevators, there are safety devices and there is a fireproof passageway under the alley between the Wabash Avenue and the State Street buildings, by which a man can walk out of this

subway, into another building and out on Wabash Avenue. Who has told you about that private exit? In case of fire, I would rather have my wife and my five-year-old girl in that subway than on any floor above the second.

"Then as to fire escapes above the basement floors: It is a great privilege, isn't it, to be allowed to go down on a fire escape to breathe fresh air? How many have done it? Do you take your exercise that way? I have been taking part in athletics, but I don't know about getting down a fire escape from the twelfth floor. And it's a great privilege, too, to be allowed to jump down, isn't it? But in this subway, thirty-two feet below grade, the best and safest methods of getting out have been provided. You men do not understand how much has been invested to make this building a safe place.

"The ordinance says that you must not sell goods at retail in a space of this sort. We can use that space, gentlemen, for anything under the sun except selling merchandise at retail or as a bake shop. We can have the children there in a nursery; we can put a play-room or a women's rest room there. We can do any one of these things with it, but we cannot sell goods there at retail. Where is the philosophy of that? It is a distinction without a difference, not based on common sense.

"There is a suit pending in regard to the right of Mandel Brothers to use this sub-basement. Mandel Brothers won it in the lower court and the city won it in the Supreme Court. The only question raised was the legal one. The case came back from the Supreme Court, was retried here, and Mandel Brothers won the suit. It is again on its way to the Supreme Court. Is there anything wrong about that? Mandel Brothers were advised by their attorney that under the law of the state they had certain property rights. If your property rights are invaded, you have a right to defend them in court. Is there anything approaching anarchy in that?

"Now, Mandel Brothers have come to the City Council to have the ordinance changed and what sort of opposition do they find? There are four kinds. Mr.

Pond touched one, and that is the sentiment fomented in some parts of this community, by certain persons for their own purposes, against anything which 'the Loop' wants, or against any interest in 'the Loop.' That is merely a matter of selfishness, isn't it, without any economic or social reason back of it?

"Another objection is that it was built in violation of the ordinance. Back of that objection is simply the spirit of revenge, of punishment. Those who take this line may admit this space is healthful, but they will not let us use it, because they are going to lay the lash on us publicly. Is that good for the city? Is it right?

"Another objection is that the place is unhealthful. The Health Committee of this club are opposed to it for this reason. But the committee does not say that this particular basement is unhealthful, it merely says that it is unhealthful to have anybody working or living or being below the surface of the street away from God's sunlight. In the name of God, where in the City of Chicago today are men working in God's sunlight? We are sitting here, I know, enjoying God's sunlight in this room—through the agency of the Commonwealth Edison Company! But this ordinance does not take people out of that sub-basement and put them in God's sunlight. They simply cannot buy goods there or bake a loaf of bread or a bun.

"We must all concede that there has been substantial progress in ventilation in recent years. The windows in this room are not open now. Ten years ago they would have been open. But you have your ventilation devices. You breathe the same air here as you breathe in Mandel Brothers' subway. There is practically the same kind of a ventilating system. And aren't you choking to death, aren't you on the way to tuberculosis? No.

"There has been a great change in the art of ventilation and I challenge any man to make a test of the air in Mandel Brothers' basement and say that it is not healthful, that it does not live up to the ordinance; or say that, when Mandel Brothers agree to give two thou-

sand instead of one thousand cubic feet of air per hour for every twenty square feet of floor space, that means nothing. It does mean something—it means that the air in that basement is pure, clean air, washed and tempered.

"The last objection has to do with the question of safety: Now, does anybody here say that this particular place is unsafe? Nobody. Chief O'Connor of the Fire Department, the supreme authority of the City of Chicago so far as safety from fire is concerned, and Mr. McDonnell, Chief of the Fire Prevention Bureau, both told me that this place was safe.

"It has been suggested that this ordinance ought to be changed so as to take out the entire limitation. It may be that some of those who are now arguing against us on this proposition may some day be arguing from the other point of view. If you want to go to the main proposition, we are willing to go to it.

"I would like to ask everybody here to go to Mandel Brothers' Store and see this basement. If you do not see it, you have no right to judge. The health authorities and the officials of the fire department of the city have approved this as a safe and sanitary place. Is there anything wrong about it?

"I might mention that there are similar salesrooms in the big stores in Philadelphia, Boston and New York." (Applause).

Mr. Pond: "Mr. Chairman, I would like to read from a letter dated February 20, 1915, written by Dr. George B. Young, then Commissioner of Health, to Mayor Carter H. Harrison, in regard to this particular issue. Dr. Young says:

"At the time of the last revision of the code Mandel Brothers endeavored to have this clause changed. They were actively opposed by Chief Horan and by Dr. Evans and by a number of other interests. My recollection is that the last appearance before any committee of Chief Horan was when he appeared before the committee in opposition to mak-

ing any change in this ordinance. The last thing he said when he left the committee room was: 'Gentlemen, we have trouble enough getting people out of buildings above ground; for God's sake don't put any more women and children under ground.'"

"And again: 'Representatives of the firm appeared before a sub-committee of the Building Committee about a week ago and expatiated at great length on the perfection of the air washing and treating apparatus which they had installed and which was constantly in operation. At the request of these gentlemen the sub-committee went with them to inspect the salesroom and found the machinery not in operation, the belts being disconnected, which is just what we expect to find in such cases.'"

Mr. D. F. Kelly (manager, Mandel Brothers): "Mr. Chairman, I challenge Mr. Young's statement. The belts were never off of the machines. We must remove the slime from the plates over which the water passes in order to keep them sweet and clean, and so that at least three units may always be in order, the ventilating apparatus is in four units. I am perfectly willing to make affidavit and have it made by every man connected with the engineering department of our business to the effect that not more than one unit at a time has been out of commission since the ventilating apparatus was put in. I am sorry that Dr. Young has been misinformed."

The meeting thereupon adjourned.

Two meetings of the City Council have been held since the ordinance was reported in, but at neither has it been called up for consideration. Mr. Sexton was quoted in an evening paper on December 30 as saying: "The ordinance is temporarily withdrawn and we are considering an amendment by which all high class fireproof buildings may have the same privileges as are asked by Mandel Brothers in the ordinance which has been proposed."



## ENGLISH LABOR AND THE WAR

Those Americans who are congratulating themselves that, while Europe is at war, America is capturing the trade of the world, may be very much disillusioned at the end of the war, according to Mr. Ernest Bevin, who spoke at the City Club Monday, December 13. The nations now at war have made new technical discoveries and developed new economic conditions, types of organization and processes of which America little dreams today, and with which she must compete when the war is over. She will find among other things production organized on a new collective basis under the control of the state. Mr. Bevin was one of the British fraternal delegates to the convention of the American Federation of Labor recently held at San Francisco. He is a representative of the Dockers' Union and one of the assessors appointed to administer the munitions act of Great Britain.

If a few weeks before the war, Mr. Bevin said, anybody had proposed the changes which actually were brought about in a brief time by the war, he would have been regarded as a dreamer and fanatic. England, concerned with her problems of Irish home rule, etc., had been following a policy of *laissez faire* in industry, and any fundamental dealing with the great economic problems had not been attempted. There was, as a consequence, when the war broke out, no register of industries and the country had little knowledge of its actual economic resources.

Most people in England thought it was only necessary to stop the advance of the Germans and that within a few weeks the armies of the allies would be in Berlin. It soon developed, however, that the economic conditions and organization of the central powers were to play a bigger part in the war than even the number of men in the trenches.

Before the war, England did not realize how fragile was her system of international credit. The nation even had to indorse the checks of the banks in order to make them stable during the war and England borrowed money at

4½ per cent in order to make these good.

In the same way the insurance companies found it impossible in this great crisis to insure the merchant marine so that food supplies and materials of war could continue to be imported into the country. The government again had to come to the rescue and undertake the work of insurance.

Another of England's most serious difficulties at the beginning of the war was the situation in which she found herself with reference to the supply of munitions. She discovered that she was in the power of a great international armament ring; that many of the supplies on which she counted were manufactured in foreign countries and could not be obtained. Mr. Bevin declared that America, in its program of preparedness, should take a lesson from this war and not allow itself to be drawn into the grip of the armament manufacturers. The armament manufacturers in England tried to maintain a monopoly in the manufacture of the munitions of war. The result was within a brief time England was short of munitions and a great military crisis was brought about. And the nation had again to step in and produce for itself that which privately owned industrial concerns had failed to do.

There is always, Mr. Bevin said, in every country, a "vulture" class which tries to make money out of every great national crisis and need. In England, for instance, not only did the private capitalists try to exploit the government in the manufacture of munitions, but the cost of living, even on foodstuffs already in the country when the war began, was increased by the profit-making capitalists by nearly 50 per cent, almost driving the working class into revolt. Germany and Austria were able, because of their superior economic and dominant military organization, to grapple with this situation more readily and to take control of the processes of industry, but England with her *laissez faire* policy as to industry was not so fortunately situated. However, she was soon forced to radical steps by the

stringency of the situation. She was forced, for instance, to take over the harvests, including those of India, Canada and Australia, and she has also assumed control of the supplies of sugar and leather and almost all of the necessities of life.

The orders for war materials soon increased to almost fabulous amounts the profits of the great capitalists of the country engaged in the manufacture of these things. Laboring men were worked to the limit without sharing in any way in these enormous profits. Naturally, although they volunteered in great numbers to serve in the armies, they were not willing to be exploited in the interest of this "vulture" class, and in the mines and workshops they struck. The government had been in the hands of men who hated unions, but ultimately they had to come to the unions and ask them to discuss the economic situation. This was done and a bargain was reached, which is embodied in the munitions act. Under this act the government agreed to take over and control the munitions factories and the unions agreed on certain conditions to waive many of their working rules in order to increase the output of war materials, including the rule restricting the use of less skilled workers on jobs usually assigned to higher skilled men, the rule limiting the labor of women in industry, the rule relating to over-time and certain others. The unions were ready to make these sacrifices, provided labor was nationalized and not used for private gain.

It was a part of the arrangement that where less skilled workers were placed in positions ordinarily filled by higher grade men, they should be paid at the same rate, so that there should be no under-cutting with a possibly permanent lowering of the wage level. Wages under the munitions act are based on the class of work which is being done and not on the individual who is doing it. This is bound to have an important effect on the status of labor after the war, for it recognizes another standard of fixing wages than the subsistence level.

Women are working in the munitions factories, on the railroads and in many other lines of employment. They are

members of the labor organizations and are working on the same basis as the men. The services of women have always been under-valued in private production and, when women were employed in the munitions factories, some of the representatives of the government took the position that although the women were working faster in many cases than the men, they should not be paid equal wages. The unions insisted, however, that the women should receive the same wages as men and they are employed now on this basis. In response to a question, Mr. Bevin said that while it was a part of the agreement that after the war the women should be displaced by men whose positions they were holding, he doubted whether this adjustment would be so readily made. He said, however, that if the rule in regard to equal payment for women were enforced, women would probably be gradually displaced on account of the greater general efficiency and physical ability of the men.

As a result of the war there has been a great change in the national attitude toward the soldier. The soldier had been regarded as a man out of work who joined the army because he had nothing else to do. As evidence of his improved status, the cost of the individual soldier to the government has increased from 100 to 250 pounds per annum, the difference being made up in increased allowance to wife and children, better clothing, food and equipment. The state now recognizes its responsibility to soldiers' dependents and a certain allowance is paid to dependent women and children, whether there has been a legal marriage or not.

Labor has made great sacrifices in the war. Some of the factory legislation has had to be surrendered and a great amount of social legislation pending before the war has been blocked, but labor is bound to maintain what it has gained in the past. The system of social insurance, for instance, will be maintained at whatever cost.

The present blockade of Europe, Mr. Bevin said, is forcing the nations to adopt new processes and materials of production. New products are being manufactured, new discoveries are made,



discoveries that will revolutionize industry after the war. Everybody thought, for instance, at the beginning of the war, that if the supply of copper to Germany could be cut off the production of munitions in Germany would be vitally interfered with. Instead, however, a substitute was found. This is only one instance of many.

The workers of Great Britain will never permit their government to go back to the old system of private production under which labor has been exploited in the past. The government now owns 900 of the most up-to-date engineering plants, in addition to her arsenals and shipyards, and the people are not going to let these get back into private hands. Instead they will insist that the government retain these industries and apply the surplus production which has formerly gone into profits to the sinking of the war loan. The laboring people of England are not going to be toilers and moilers and pay and pay forever. They are going to make these great industries pay the cost of the war. The result of this war will be a system of collective

production through the various governments. Public ownership of land will also probably be made a great political issue after the war.

The causes of the war, Mr. Bevin said, are fundamentally economic—the desire of the capitalistic interests to exploit the undeveloped regions of the earth. So long as these were plentiful the nations were able to keep away from each others' throats; now that they are limited they have fallen to fighting among themselves. These are the real stakes of the war.

In response to a question as to the relative situation of the labor movement in England and America at the outbreak of the war, Mr. Bevin said that while the English labor movement was further along, it had had fewer difficulties to encounter than the American movement. The American movement is handicapped by the great differences in nationality and by the importation of "scab" labor from Europe (as, for instance, by the Union Stock Yards, with whose agents he said he was personally acquainted) as a means of breaking the power of the unions and reducing wages.

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## RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT THROUGH THE BUDGET

Dr. Frederick A. Cleveland, of the New York Bureau of Municipal Research, and formerly head of President Taft's Commission on Economy and Efficiency, spoke before the Government Committee of the City Club, Friday, December 3, on the Budget as a Means of Popular Control. Students of history have agreed, said Dr. Cleveland, that budget methods and procedure have in the past been one of the chief means whereby the principles of liberty and responsible government have been perfected. The first step in getting control over an absolute monarchy was to secure control over the supplies, the means whereby the monarch's arbitrary will could be made effective. The issue that gave rise to this principle in England was the conflict of William the Conqueror and his successors, representing irresponsible arbitrary power, with the little local groups who had been accustomed through their assemblies and in other

ways to responsible government. Magna Charta was largely a budget instrument.

The budget method of popular control, Dr. Cleveland said, is more effective than control through a fixed term of election, because it is more continuous and goes to the basis of government, the control over the supplies. The budget as a means of enforcing the will of the majority on the executive, he said, is a fundamental feature of constitutional government. The people have ordinarily preferred to surround their executives with restrictions on power rather than to run the risk of an abuse of official authority. The New York Constitutional Convention favored a strong, efficient executive, but they left out provision for popular control and the people voted the proposed constitution down.

As an example of how strong executive authority might be combined with effective popular control, Dr. Cleveland referred to the Canadian system. In-

stead of being worked out, as in our system, by a committee, often hidden from public view and with log-rolling and other abuses, the Canadian budget is prepared by the ministry and submitted to Parliament for discussion and debate. The preparation of the budget is the work of months, and the ministers, officers and heads of departments are thoroughly informed and ready to answer the questions put to them by Parliament members—for on the success or failure of the budget depends their political fortunes. When the budget goes before Parliament it has the unanimous support of the administration. The Prime Minister accepts complete responsibility and must be able to make good before Parliament. If not, the government resigns or goes before the country for a new election.

The advantage of this scheme, Dr. Cleveland concluded, is that every item of the budget gets a thorough, open discussion in the presence of the press, matters of policy are determined in such a way that the people are constantly informed as to what is going on, and effective popular control results. It is this out-in-the-open debate that makes the political news in Canada of so much greater value than similar news in this country. After the budget scheme is debated a revenue plan for the raising of government funds is next discussed in the same way. This entire system is opposed to our own system of invisible, indirect and irresponsible government.

Dr. Cleveland favored a change in our American system whereby, as under the Canadian system, it would be possible for either branch of the government to

call a new election in case of a deadlock. This should, however, be accompanied by a fixed term of election as at present so as to insure popular control. The calling of a special election, Dr. Cleveland said, would be much more effective than the popular recall as we now have it in this country, for the latter can only work under such high pressure as to make possible almost a revolution. The issues of a popular recall election are, moreover, often so confused as to insure no definite expression of public opinion and the new government may be quite as irresponsible as the old.

In answer to a question as to how these methods could be grafted on to our American system, Dr. Cleveland said that two things might be done: In the first place, the attendance of executive officers at legislative sessions might be required and upon them might be put the responsibility for initiating a definite budget plan. The whole drift of our practice, however, for the last century and a quarter has been the other way, and while no constitutional amendment would be required for this change the Legislatures would not be likely to agree to it. The second method would be to establish the right of the Legislature to call a new election in case of a conflict so that both branches of government would go before the people for a verdict. This, of course, would require a constitutional change.

Dr. Cleveland's address was the first of a series which is being held by the committee dealing with fundamental principles of government.

## COUNTRY PLANNING

Until recently, little effort has been made to apply scientific principles of planning to the country side. Efforts are now being made, however, in many country places to increase the opportunities for recreation, make better roads and conserve the natural beauties of the landscape, and in other ways improve the physical conditions surrounding rural life. This "country planning" work was discussed at the City Club on Saturday,

December 18, by two men who are leaders in this line in their own states: Prof. Frank A. Waugh of the Massachusetts Agricultural College, and Prof. J. C. Blair of the Department of Horticulture, University of Illinois.

This "country planning" movement, according to Prof. Waugh, involves primarily the conservation and improvement of the public property of the country, including roads, school houses,

cemeteries, town halls and other public places. It is surprising, he said, that country communities have so little land at their disposal for public purposes. It is very hard to find a country neighborhood that has enough land for a baseball field.

Country people also fail generally to conserve the scenic opportunities of their landscapes. Prof. Waugh told, as a typical instance, of a small town in Vermont through which ran a beautiful stream; the banks of this stream were privately owned and even the bridge was so built up at the sides as to shut off the view from the people. He also spoke of a small Massachusetts town which had a beautiful lake but had no facilities whatever for using it for boating, swimming or bathing—it was entirely in private hands.

Sound "country planning," said Prof. Waugh, is the way to remedy these conditions, and for this four things are necessary: Local initiative and willingness to undertake improvements; ideas and expert advice in the place of mere good intentions; money (this is really

the least important of all), and time. We are ordinarily very impetuous—we want things done tomorrow. But that is not the way things come about. When a plan is made, it is generally necessary to work and wait until the community is up to it, and often things come about only after some of the older members of the community have passed away and the younger generation with new ideas comes to the front.

Prof. Waugh spoke briefly of his work in Massachusetts under the auspices of the Massachusetts Agricultural College.

Prof. Blair described the development of the Department of Landscape of the University of Illinois and its work in promoting rural improvement. Through an extension division of which Prof. Wilhelm Miller is the head, lectures on country improvement are given at farmers' institutes, teachers' organizations and other groups throughout the state, and a periodical, "The Illinois Way," is published as a means of stimulating interest and disseminating information along the same line.

## CLUB NOTES

A Christmas card addressed to "The Chicago City Club" with "herzliche Wünsche zu Weinacht und Neujahr" has been received at the Club office from Herr Victor von Borosini, a member of the Club, who is a prisoner of war at Holypport, England. The border design of the card is an entanglement of barbed wire.

The City Club idea is getting into the smaller towns. The City Club of Racine, Wisconsin, was organized several months ago and now has a membership of about 150 men and women. It holds monthly meetings for the discussion of public questions. The secretary is Mr. Archibald T. Campbell, who is also a member of the City Club of Chicago.

### DINE AT THE CITY CLUB

When you are down town for the evening, come to the City Club for dinner. If alone and in a hurry, you will

appreciate the prompt service. If with business or personal friends, you will find the club a pleasant place to talk and visit, and centrally situated if you attend the concert or theater.

The newly decorated grill, where dinner is served, is bright and cheerful. Many members are well suited with the club table d'hote (75 cents). A la carte service is maintained for those who prefer it. The private dining rooms are available at a small service charge for parties of six or more.

Members wishing to arrange for large dinners or banquets should consult the club manager—excellent menus can be secured from one dollar per plate up, and for parties numbering up to 250 guests.

The City Club is *your* club. In patronizing its restaurant you will not only find pleasant surroundings and excellent service, but you will also aid the club in meeting its expenses.

HOUSE COMMITTEE.

The membership of the City Club, January 1, 1916, was 2,378, classified according to occupation was as follows\*:

ARCHITECTURE AND ENGINEERING.....	230
BUSINESS—	
Real estate .....	126
Bankers and brokers .....	108
Insurance .....	98
Public utilities .....	60
All other (mercantile and manu- facturing establishments, etc.).....	773
—	1,165
EDUCATION .....	164
GOVERNMENT .....	99
LAW .....	460
MEDICINE .....	88
PUBLISHING AND JOURNALISM.....	97
RELIGION .....	35
SECRETARIAL AND SOCIAL WORK.....	67
MISCELLANEOUS .....	42

\*The total of the items does not correspond exactly to the total membership, because of an over-lapping of several classifications.

F. C. and C. M. Jorgeson, members of the City Club and of the firm of F. C. Jorgeson & Co., manufacturers of store and office fixtures, have very generously presented to the Club a new counter for the coat room to replace the temporary counter now in use. The new counter will correspond in design to the woodwork in front of the cashier's office.

The House Committee also have under consideration changes for the improvement of coat room facilities for members which it is hoped will greatly reduce the confusion and crowding which sometimes occurs after large meetings.

Mr. Charles R. Corwith, a member of the City Club since its organization, died December 8, 1915.

The following books have recently been published by City Club members:

SATELLITE CITIES, A STUDY OF INDUSTRIAL SUBURBS, by Graham Romeyn Taylor, of the editorial staff of the Survey.

SCIENTIFIC MANAGEMENT AND LABOR, by Robert F. Hoxie, Special Investigator for the U. S. Commission on Industrial Relations.

Both books were issued by D. Appleton & Co.

The following new members have joined the Club since December 1, 1915:

S. W. Anderson, engineer.  
Charles L. Bachman, manager, Combustion Engineering Corporation.  
Samuel W. Banning, attorney.  
Robert G. Beck, secretary, U. S. Circuit Court of Appeals.  
C. B. Benjamin, Charles W. Shonk Company (lithographing).  
Fred H. Bird, engineer.  
George F. Brown, George T. Brown & Co. (insurance).  
Robert N. Burton, patent solicitor.  
C. T. Chindlund, Gage Brothers & Co. (wholesale millinery).  
Wm. B. Davies, attorney.  
Albert D. Dick, Jr., A. B. Dick Company (labor saving devices).  
Frank W. Dignan, La Salle Extension University.  
Palmer D. Edmunds, lawyer.  
Mortimer E. Emrick, physician.  
Robert H. Gault, professor, Northwestern University.  
John J. Geddes, assistant cashier, Merchants' Loan & Trust Company.  
G. E. Hawkins, dentist.  
Charles S. Holt, lawyer.  
H. D. Jackson, mechanical engineer.  
Gardner D. Jones, Nash-Wright Grain Company.  
Arthur P. Kemp, auditor.  
H. A. Kirchhoff, retired.  
Carl D. Matz, lawyer.  
Clyde H. McClure, chemical engineer.  
Robert W. McKisson, salesman, American Steel Foundries.  
Malcolm R. McNeill, McNeill Brothers (real estate).  
W. J. Monilaw, instructor, physical education.  
George W. Moser, president, Moser Paper Company.  
Edgar J. Phillips, lawyer.  
Frank E. Plowman, illuminating engineer.  
John C. Potter, dealer in dairy products.  
Julian Roe, Crocker-Wheeler Co. (electric motors, etc.).  
Edgar V. Stanley, lawyer.  
Edward F. Schoeneck, assistant cashier, Corn Exchange Bank.  
C. C. Senf, artist.  
Fritz Steinbrecher, Paul Steinbrecher & Co. (real estate).  
Wallace Streeter, attorney.  
Whitman Taylor, student.  
F. W. Thompson, manager Farm Loan Department, Merchants' Loan & Trust Company.  
James P. Tyrrell, International Paper Company.

The House Committee, on behalf of the employees of the City Club, desires to thank the members for their generous contributions to the Christmas Fund.

# The City Club Bulletin

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DWIGHT L. AKERS, Editor

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## CLUB NOTES

Thomas W. Swan, a director of the City Club and chairman of its committee on Public Affairs, has been elected Dean of the Yale Law School.

Enos A. Mills, chairman of the National Parks Committee of the American Civic Association, met recently with the Parks and Playgrounds Committee of the City Club to discuss national parks legislation pending before Congress. It is proposed to establish a National Parks Service in the Department of the Interior to consolidate the administration of the national parks in the hands of a single bureau. The development of the national parks has been much hampered by the division of authority now existing. Bills are also pending for the creation of several new parks, the most important of which would include the Grand Canon.

William D. Bangs, of the law firm of Mechem, Bangs and Parker, has been made secretary of the Municipal Voters' League, to succeed Preston Kumler who has resigned.

George E. Hooker Civic Secretary of the City Club, has been appointed chairman of the Illinois Pension Laws Commission under the provisions of the new act passed at the recent special session of the general assembly. The other members of the commission are Professor Henry L. Rietz, Urbana; John P. Dillon, Chicago, and Marcus Jacobowsky, Chicago. The commission has an appropriation of \$15,000 for its work.

The duty of the commission, as stated in the act, is:

"To investigate the operation of all pension laws heretofore enacted in this state; to gather together all available information as to the present and probable future cost of maintaining the funds created by said laws and to collect all available information in regard to the operation of similar laws in other states and counties."

The City Club Committee on Political Nominations and Elections, Laird Bell, chairman, on January 17, sent to Springfield telegrams urging the passage of the election economy bills (1) for the combining of the registration for the presidential primary with that for aldermanic primary and (2)—provided separate ballots were provided for judges and aldermen—for the combining of the June judicial elections in Cook County with the aldermanic elections. The former of these two bills was passed; the latter failed.

Another bill before the Legislature provided for a general registration once in four years and for the establishment of a central registration bureau. The committee urged that this bill should be given more complete consideration than would be possible at this special session but that, if it were to be adopted, adequate safeguards should be provided against fraudulent registration. This bill passed the Senate but failed in the House.

James Ellsworth Randell, manager of the Continental and Commercial National Bank Building and a member of the City Club since 1909, died on January 26.

A member was found the other day who did not know the club possessed a library. There is a good library in a pleasant room on the fourth floor. Members are invited to use it. The collection naturally specializes in topics relating to the work and interests of the club.

The following persons have joined the City Club since the last Bulletin was issued, January 10, 1916:

William H. Babcock, Walter H. Wilson & Co.

Herman C. Behrens, vice-president, Continental Casualty Company.

William G. Booth, William A. Bond & Co.  
L. A. Bower, Hibbard, Spencer, Bartlett & Co.

C. T. Brown, sales manager, Elliott-Madison Company (publishers.)

Charles L. Cockrell, railway sales agent, Western Roofing & Supply Co.

Howard M. Cox, lawyer, Cheever & Cox.

Robert M. Curtis, Alfred L. Baker & Co.  
August Christenson, wholesale clothing.

F. G. Dickerson, president, Dickerson Filter Co. (canning machinery.)

Ralph Ellis, secretary, Legislative Voters' League.

Dr. Morris Fishbein, assistant editor, Journal of the American Medical Association.

Myron M. Fowler, engineering department, General Electric Company.

J. B. Freeman, superintendent of construction, Webster Engineering Company.

Gustav Freund, president, S. Oppenheimer & Co.

Lloyd O. Gilbert, secretary to Mr. W. A. Wieboldt.

H. L. Haas, division sales manager, Marshall Field & Co. (wholesale).

Joseph O. Hanson, assistant department manager, Swift & Co.

Laurence S. Harpole, general sales department, Marshall Field & Co. (wholesale).

Frank C. Haselton, insurance adjuster, Moore, Case, Lyman & Hubbard.

Edward F. Healey, western manager, Review of Reviews.

E. P. Hermann, editorial department, La Salle Extension University.

Charles Hill, assistant treasurer, Libby, McNeill and Libby.

William H. Hill, manager, Harbison Walker Refractories Company (fire brick.)

E. T. Hiller, Industrial Extension Secretary, Y. M. C. A.

Henry H. Hilton, publisher, Ginn & Co.

Herman K. Hoff, assistant buyer, Hibbard, Spencer, Bartlett & Co.

Arthur C. Hoffman, attorney, Lillard & Hoffman.

Harold Hopewell, chief clerk to vice president, Pennsylvania Lines.

William F. Jensen, manager sales department, William Jerrems' Sons.

H. J. Knapp, law student, Lake Forest Academy.

E. L. Kohler, instructor, Northwestern University.

Prof. W. E. Lagerquist, Northwestern University.

M. G. Lloyd, technical editor, Electrical Review and Western Electrician.

Kossuth Marks, insurance, Critchell, Miller, Whitney & Barbour.

Robert G. Marshall, Robert G. Marshall Letter Company.

John S. Maurer, secretary and treasurer, Rodger Ballast Car Company.

R. W. Merrifield, director of religious education, Glenwood Manual Training School.

Ralph W. Miller, insurance, Conkling, Price & Webb.

John J. McCarthy, teacher, Lane Technical High School.

Louis L. McDonald, scout executive, Chicago Boy Scouts of America.

James J. O'Grady, assistant manager, Wal-  
tham Watch Company.

John A. Ohlin, cashier, Chicago Nipple Mfg. Co.

Prof. Robert E. Park, department of sociology, University of Chicago.

Clarence J. Perfitt, credit department, Consumers Company.

H. F. Prussing, real estate, White & Tabor.

Ernest R. Reichmann, lawyer, Judah, Wil-  
lard, Wolf & Reichmann.

Harold G. Rockwell, lawyer, Barnett & Truman.

Eugene A. Rummeler, lawyer.

Walter P. Schatz, community secretary, Illinois Bankers' Association.

John K. Simons, Greenfield Tap & Die Corporation.

Albee Smith, Jr., advertising.

Ralph M. Snyder, lawyer, Busby, Weber, Miller & Robinson.

W. G. Stromquist, Sanitary District of Chicago (sewage test station).

W. D. Stuckenberg, president, Commercial Testing & Engineering Company (fuel engineers).

Edward A. Tracy, manager, Barnhart Brothers and Spindler (type foundry).

C. M. P. Wright, vice president, Thomas Cusack Company.

E. E. Yeager, auditor, International Harvester Company.

As a member of the City Club you do not need an introduction to other members. Keep this in mind when you are lunching alone and get acquainted with the strange fellow member who is seated at your table.

Members are reminded that there is a dressing room on the fourth floor, equipped with showers and other toilet facilities. There are also steel lockers which can be used by members on payment of a small fee.

George E. Hooker, Civic Secretary of the club, served on the January Grand Jury.

## AN AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY

Walter Lippmann, one of the editors of the New Republic and the author of several notable books on affairs of the day,\* addressed the City Club, January 14, on "An American Foreign Policy." He said:

*Walter Lippmann*

"Ever since it became evident many months ago that the United States was about to go in for heavier armament, a group of people in this country has been insisting that it would be impossible to arm intelligently unless we knew what we were arming for, that no preparedness would really be possible until there had been a careful analysis and definition of our foreign policy. Secretary Garrison's report dismissed this in one paragraph, saying that when you prepare against a fire, you buy a fire extinguisher, you don't ask the date or the place of the fire. Argument from metaphor is always dangerous, and in this case the metaphor itself does not happen to be true, for you need a different sort of fire department and different fire laws in a town of wooden houses than you need in a town where there are skyscrapers. And when it comes to the relations of nations, the truth that you must know what you are about holds infinitely more.

"I believe that students of international politics have agreed that armaments are created not to defend a country, but to defend its policy. If freedom from invasion were the only ambition of the United States, we could build a Chinese wall around this country, put a gun along every half mile on the coast, build a few submarines and wait. But what we are arming for, if we are going to arm, is to defend not just our shores, but certain policies which we stand for and it therefore becomes absolutely essential to put those policies on the table, discuss them with the world, and know exactly what they are going to cost. That is an immense task and a very delicate one, but it seems to me that we have got to undertake it.

## PROBLEM OF THE FAR EAST

"A useful way of thinking about American foreign policy is to divide it into three grand divisions, our relations to the far East, our relations to Latin America, and our relations to the British empire. The problem of the far East has essentially two factors, one is the question of Asiatic immigration, the other is the question of China, whether it is to be preserved as an independent nation, to fall under the dominion of Japan, or to be protected by international arrangement among the powers. America has to make up its mind first whether it wishes to maintain, and perhaps make more severe, its exclusion policy in reference to Asiatic immigration, and above all must determine how far it will go and what risks it will take in dealing with Japanese plans in China—for the measure of our danger in regard to Japan is the measure of our willingness to take part in oriental politics. If we should say to Japan, and act upon it, that we would not interfere with whatever she might propose to do in China, that she was free to intervene there, acquire political control, establish commercial supremacy and let us take the leavings, the Japanese problem, so far as we were concerned, would disappear. Japan would gladly purchase freedom in China at the price of the exclusion of her coolies from California.

## AMERICA'S OBLIGATION

"We will have to make up our minds whether, for our own peace and the future of the world, we can allow a nation like China to be at the mercy of a smaller but more aggressive people like Japan, whether the disintegration and conquest of China will not create a problem so serious that all future generations will live in the shadow of it. You must remember that China represents one-quarter of the human race, and if one-quarter of the human race is lost in oppression and disorganization, the effects are bound to be felt throughout the world. The effect of the disorganization of the Balkans and of Turkey would be nothing in comparison to the results of a disorganization of China.

\*"A Preface to Politics," "Drift and Mastery," "The Stakes of Diplomacy."

Any farseeing statesmanship in this country, which recognizes an obligation to the future, will have to face the question whether we are willing to take risks, either alone or in arrangement with other powers, to preserve and defend China's integrity.

#### LATIN-AMERICA

"In considering the second grand division of our foreign question, Latin America, we will have to make a distinction. We cannot afford to treat Latin America as if all of its states were alike. It is all very well at banquets and Pan-American Congresses to speak of them as free and equal independent republics, but the words stick in our mouths when we think that, at the moment when we are saying things like that to the delegates from Hayti, for instance, we are in possession of their custom houses and trying to reorganize their finance.

"Now what is the important difference between the countries of Latin America. The countries north of the equator which face the Caribbean and control the canal are the weaker ones. There are smaller, on the whole badly governed and are subject to revolution and disorganization. Left to themselves there is every likelihood that they would fall into the hands of some other power. These countries mean a great deal more to the security of the United States than those which lie south of the equator, three of which, at least—Argentina, Brazil and Chile—are fairly modern second-class powers.

"Now, we do not, of course, under any circumstances wish to see the countries of South America south of the equator conquered and governed from Europe, but we have essentially no more interest in them than we have in the future of Belgium—perhaps less. If we are going to devote ourselves to the defense of countries like Argentine, Brazil and Chile, we ought, since they do not lie in the sphere of our vital interests, to do it under an international arrangement, not as a national policy of the United States.

#### MUST GUARANTEE ORDERLY GOVERNMENT

"Furthermore, if we agree to accept responsibility for the future of the countries between us and the equator, to

guarantee their independence and integrity, we cannot give them a blank check upon our future. We will have to be responsible for the conditions under which they are governed, to take a part in securing orderly and efficient government in them, or we shall be at the mercy of any intrigue. For instance, there are very powerful French interests in Hayti, which have been endangered by the revolutions there. The United States has to reorganize Hayti or let France reorganize it. The only other alternative is the futile one of being ready to fight France in order to let Hayti have her own revolutions. I do not believe that this country would willingly accept a policy so futile as that.

"But if we make ourselves responsible for order and efficient government in these countries, it does not follow that we must invade and conquer them. The real solution of this problem lies, I think, in the supervision of their finance, because it is due to their finances that the revolutions occur. The usual reason why a revolution in one of these countries cannot be put down is the corruption of the administration, and so to insure stable progress to those countries we must be prepared, when disorder occurs, to use our influence and our expert knowledge to put their finance in condition and keep it there.

#### THE NEW PAN-AMERICAN POLICY

"Very recently we heard from Washington the first intimations of a new Pan-American policy. I must confess to you that it seems to me a curious one. We are told first that the United States is ready to guarantee the independence and integrity of every republic in this hemisphere. We are then told that the United States wishes to do this in concert with the other Latin-American powers, but would do it alone if necessary. That is an order of a size we have never yet faced in our history. We have never yet had to cash in on the Monroe Doctrine, because the balance of power in Europe has always made it impossible for any nation to challenge it. But if Mr. Wilson seriously proposes that we should defend at any cost the integrity and independence of any state south of us, he has opened the doors to



a military program such as we have never had in history, for to do that against a possible combination of enemies would require a fleet and an army beyond our wildest calculations. The Pan-American policy, which is put forth, I am sure, with all good will and in the interest of peace, opens the doors to immense dangers and I think if these were once fully realized by the country, the people would demand a redefinition of that policy.

#### OUR RELATIONS TO GREAT BRITAIN

"That leads us to the third division of our foreign policy. It always seems to me forgotten, when we talk about Pan-Americanism, that our important neighbor in this hemisphere is not Mexico or Argentina, but the British empire; that from Canada to the Falkland Islands the power of England is felt. Any foreign policy which leaves Great Britain out of account omits the chief factor in the situation.

"Not only do we touch Great Britain all through this hemisphere, but a great part of our problems with the far East coincide with England's. Canada, Australia and New Zealand have immigration problems like our own, and England because of her trade and other interests there is far more concerned than we are as to the future of China. Moreover, Great Britain is the only important power of Europe that has publicly recognized the Monroe Doctrine. It is the power now in alliance with Japan. It controls the seas, and no rearrangement of the globe can be undertaken without England's participation.

"I would not suggest the idea of an alliance with Great Britain—not now. Everyone in Washington today knows that the blockade is going to be the central problem of the next few months and our relations with Great Britain are going to become very serious. England has, without question, broken the rules of international law in regard to that blockade, but we do not propose to take any step in this country which might result in serious trouble on that account. We are making a technical protest against Great Britain and may apply more or less pressure to her, but I think it is the overwhelming sentiment of this country that anything which would lead

to a serious break with Great Britain over the blockade would be an unthinkable disaster.

#### THE ISSUE OF THE BLOCKADE

"If that is the case, we are giving to England something of vital importance to her. I suggest that we ought to make England pay the price for it. As I said, I am not going to suggest the idea of an alliance with Great Britain—not now. But if we are not going to press the blockade issue with England to a practical issue during the war, we have a right to ask from England a definition of her policy in South America and in the far East, to secure from her guarantees and arrangements for a future agreement. While that may seem to many Englishmen a hard and cynical thing to do, I believe we would be respected infinitely more in England if England felt that there was a fair and frank understanding and a fair bargain between us, than if she felt we were going to stand out for the letter of the law and allow her still to do whatever she pleases.

"It seems to me, therefore, that our whole diplomatic situation really depends upon our ability to define our relations to the British empire. We cannot possibly define our policy or determine how big an armament we need for Latin America or the far East, until we know where the British empire stands on these questions and whether we are to build a navy against or with her.

#### WANTED: A DEFINITION OF POLICY

"Many people have said that we cannot define a foreign policy in this way. But I submit that throughout the history of this country, whenever America's foreign policy has been strong, it has done just that thing; it has defined its position and openly stated where it stood, so that we might know who were our friends and who our foes. And whenever we have had immense pretensions, with very little to back them up and an unwillingness at any point to face the actual issues, our foreign policy has been weak and helpless.

"It seems to me, therefore, that the logic of the situation forces us out of our tradition of isolation and compels us first to negotiate with the leading powers over these problems in the far

East and Latin America, and, second, to find out which of them are with us and which against us, to publish these facts and to arm in accordance with them. Anything less than that is simply the policy of letting things slip, of letting things drift along. Then you may have to sacrifice thousands of lives and infinite wealth for a purpose which is not even clear in your own minds. This attempt to make the administration open negotiations and say what its purposes are is not a pleasant game that some of us are playing in order to make trouble for Mr. Wilson—as so many of his friends seem to think. It is based on a realization that hundreds of thousands of lives are at stake and that a policy which is not related to armament and armament which is not related to policy is the cause of the disaster of nations.” (Applause.)

#### SHOULD WE INTERVENE IN MEXICO?

Mr. Lippman was asked to explain his attitude toward American intervention in Mexico, proposed on account of the recent assassination of American citizens there by bandits. He said:

“It is important to remember that what has just occurred in Mexico is a crime not only against us, but against the existing Mexican government. It is not the result of a civil war and it is not the act of a government against us. Our relation to that crime is to secure the punishment of the people who committed it, and, failing that, to make sure that such occurrences will not be repeated in the future. To abandon our policy now in regard to Mexico because of these killings would seem to me to be foolish. It would force the South American countries to believe that we do not know what we want and are simply hysterical over this atrocious act. Our natural course is to insist that the Carranza government deal with this crime and to offer that government our assistance if necessary. If Carranza refuses to deal with the matter, the problem is altered, but if he is doing his best and we can help him, I think nothing more is required of us under the circumstances. It seems to me that nothing that an American army in Mexico can do would improve the situation.” (Applause.)

HORACE J. BRIDGES: “Will Mr. Lippmann please tell us why he does not advocate an alliance with Great Britain now, and under what conditions he thinks such an alliance would be desirable?”

#### BRITISH TRADE POLICY

MR. LIPPMANN: “I think such an alliance would be undesirable now, because we do not know what the policy of the British empire will be after the war. If Great Britain, for instance, is to adopt the policy that is now being discussed in Parliament, of a permanent trade war against Germany after the war, she is preparing to solidify and make permanent the disorganization of the world. That is an anarchical policy, which we, as a nation interested in the peace of the world, cannot for a moment stand for. England must do her fighting during the war and quit when the war is over.” (Applause.)

Mr. Lippmann was asked to specify a little more definitely his ideas on the Japanese question. He said:

#### JAPANESE IMMIGRATION

“A very interesting proposal has been made in regard to our immigration laws, which would put Japan on an equal technical footing with the other countries of the world, and at the same time accomplish the exclusion of the Japanese laborers. (Laughter.) I do not mean that at all as a cynical proposition. It is known as the ‘Gulick plan,’ and the idea of it is that each year we shall admit 5 per cent of the naturalized citizens of any nationality already here. That would admit several hundred Japanese each year and several thousand European immigrants. It would at the same time save the pride and vanity of Japan. I do not know whether that plan is feasible or desirable, but it is one that we certainly ought to discuss.

“As I said before, I do not think it is possible to say what our policy in the far East will be until we know what England may have to propose. It would be folly for us to embark single-handed on a Quixotic crusade out there. If we can get an agreement of the powers to help preserve China—and I think that is not at all impossible after the war—

we ought, I think, to join in it and take our share of the risks."

A MEMBER: "Why is China so important to us? In what danger would we be if Japan should swallow her?"

#### AMERICA'S CONCERN IN CHINA

MR. LIPPMANN: "If Japan swallows China, China will have to throw off Japan some day and that will mean an immense revolution. Besides, Japan will not be allowed to swallow China without a good deal of interference from other powers, and the squabble, intrigue and diplomacy which would center about China as a result of that would be much worse even than that which has centered about the Balkans and Constantinople and has been the root of this war. A future war would be made out of the situation and our interest in China is primarily that of our own peace. If there is a war in the East, there is probably no way in which we can stay out of it, for if serious fighting occurs for the control of the Pacific, our neutrality would be out of the question. That is the statesman's reason why we have to take an interest in China."

"The problem of the Philippines." Mr. Lippmann said in response to another question, "seems to me to be chiefly a strategic one. If, after the war, we decide, in concert with other powers, to insist on the preservation of China, the Philippines would be of great value to us. If not, however, they are a great source of weakness and we ought to put them under the protection of some power that is capable of defending them."

FREDERICK J. PISCHEL: "It seems to me, Mr. Lippmann, that your premise has been the continuance of the system of commercial control as it now exists. Is it not likely that after this war some form of international co-operation will be brought about which will eliminate a great deal of this danger?"

MR. LIPPMANN: "I hope so, but no man who is facing the responsibility of the situation can afford to bank on a method of co-operation which has never yet been suggested."

Being questioned further as to the proposed understanding with England, Mr. Lippmann said:

#### OUR DIPLOMATIC OPPORTUNITY

"We ought not to make any formal agreement at all. The real business of diplomacy is carried on by negotiations backed by pressure, and the blockade situation, as I said before, is our greatest opportunity for exerting pressure on Great Britain. We missed an opportunity when England came here recently for the big loan. I doubt if there is another country in the world that would have made a loan of that size without asking about its diplomatic results."

"Technically, we are not going to cede anything to Great Britain—actually we are going to let her carry out her blockade."

A MEMBER: "Are you going to wink at violations of international law for a purely personal advantage?"

#### ENFORCING INTERNATIONAL LAW

MR. LIPPMANN: "Yes. That is to say, we cannot fight everybody and everything for the abstract principles of international law. We will stand by them, say that we believe in them and use as much pressure in support of them as we believe it is in our interest to exert. But the fact that England has violated international law does not mean that we must declare war on her. That would be a mad proposition. It would mean that whenever a violation of law occurred on the part of any nation we would instantly have to declare war. There is no part of international law which says how far we must go in exerting our force in favor of it."

A MEMBER: "Isn't it a different thing, however, to say that we will not go to war to enforce some principles of international law, and to say that if a nation will give us some personal advantage we will consent to its violation of that principle?"

MR. LIPPMANN: "We know how far we are prepared to go in enforcing these provisions of international law. Why shouldn't we recognize this and act accordingly. I will admit that it is not at all in the spirit that you would want between two high-minded gentlemen who had nothing at stake."

A MEMBER: "Why shouldn't we insist upon American rights as we did in 1812? Great Britain could not afford

to have the American naval power against her. It would destroy her."

MR. LIPPMANN: "You would exert the limit of our pressure to open that blockade? How big a risk would you run?"

THE MEMBER: "As much as might be necessary."

MR. LIPPMANN: "I disagree with you on that, because I think that America has too much at stake in its relations to England."

"If we back up by force our technical right to trade with Germany, we simply throw our balance into the war to give Germany the victory. If the consequence of such action would be to destroy the British empire, with all that would mean, I think that our 'rights' would look very sick in the end."

AN EMBARGO?

Referring to the proposal for an embargo as a substitute for war in enforcing the provisions of international law, Mr. Lippmann said:

"There is no possible way in which we could strike England a bigger blow. If we ever should decide to do such a thing, we ought to do it, not in the interest of our technical right to trade with Germany, but because we want Germany to win the war. If we should strike Great Britain any such blow as that it would be felt in history for generations. I am not proposing that we should not put pressure on Great Britain. That pressure, however, should be used in regard to the future and not as to this war."

A. B. POND: "Remember how, in the war of 1812, we finally made a peace which ignored all the issues on which we stood when we went to war. As a matter of fact, aren't there now large areas of international law that are in a fluid and elastic state and in which come questions which are more or less questions of policy? Why should we insist on going to war on questions arising in that debatable area, instead of trying to deal with them by some other means?"

After some further brief discussion the meeting was adjourned.

## OUR ARMY AND NAVY RESOURCES

Captain Henry J. Reilly, in charge of the Chicago Tribune's campaign for national defense, spoke at the City Club January 11, 1916, on "The Army and Navy Resources of the United States." He said:

"The day has gone by when wars are fought by small professional armies. War today means that a nation puts all its resources into the field in an effort to down another nation. The phrase 'A nation in arms' expresses what warfare of the present means. When a first class power goes to war today, its entire manhood takes the field. In every European country at present, with the exception of Great Britain, every man not physically incapacitated, between the ages of 17 or 19 and 45 or 50 years (depending upon the country) is in uniform.

### BRITISH FAILURE

"At the beginning of the war, Germany, Russia, France, Italy, Austria and the Balkan nations were ready to take

the field immediately. Only Great Britain, despite warnings, persisted in believing in a small regular army to be supplemented by a levy of patriotic citizens in time of trouble. The result was that, at the beginning of the war Great Britain could only put six divisions in France, leaving France with her entire manhood in the field to bear the brunt of the fighting. The general who was in command at the Dardanelles gave his reason for British failure there: Green troops, inexperienced officers, not enough men, not enough guns, not enough ammunition.

"Two armies made up of Kitchener's new troops were brought to France the latter part of this summer. They asked for a part of the line and the French gave them seventeen and one-half miles of trenches to hold. They did not give these new troops a continuation of the British line in the north, because that would have carried them through Arras, a very important region, and the French

know, as every trained soldier the world over knows, that green troops on the field of battle are not worth a damn and never have been.

#### WHAT COULD AMERICA DO?

"Now, suppose the United States were to go to war today with any first class European or Asiatic power. What could we do. Any one of those powers could immediately put into the field—properly equipped, properly officered and properly led—their entire manhood. What could we do? We have immense potential resources and any number of men and there is no doubt that if war were declared, we would get hundreds of thousands of volunteers at once. But what would we do with them after we had them? Where are the officers who could train them? Where are the general officers to lead the larger units? Where is the artillery? Where are the horses? Where are the thousand and one things that make up the equipment of a soldier?

"What do we have in the way of mobile troops? We have a mobile force of 35,000 infantry, cavalry and field artillery. The *Aquitania* and the *Mauretania*, used as transports since the beginning of the war, have each been carrying 13,500 men a trip and could together almost carry the equal of our entire mobile army.

"The plants that produce munitions of war would not be able to produce enough in the short time necessary. Furthermore, most of these plants are within two hundred miles of the seacoast or border in the part of the country that an enemy would capture first, instead of in the center of the country.

#### COAST DEFENSE

"We have a certain amount of coast artillery, but we cannot build batteries all the way along our thousands of miles of seacoast. Anyway, all that such batteries could do would be to keep away an enemy fleet. A landing expedition could be dumped on the beach out of range of the guns and attack and take them from the rear. The British expeditionary force at the Dardanelles could have easily captured the shore batteries if it had been properly trained, officered and equipped, and the allied fleet could have gone straight to Constantinople.

"The first expedition for the Dardanelles was landed in Egypt—125,000 men in 98 ships. A naval officer who was present said that this entire expedition (troops, horses, mules, wagons, ammunition, supplies of all kinds and artillery) was landed in thirty hours—there was no noise, no confusion. When the expedition was ready to go to the Dardanelles, they loaded it up in the same way. In spite of that, one of our congressmen told me in Washington that the figures gotten out by the general staff as to the troops which could be landed in this country by a foreign power were 'poppycock.'

#### "MUDDLING THROUGH"

"Unfortunately for us, in one way, we have hitherto always succeeded somehow in the end. People forget the cost. They forget also that not once in our history have we singly and unaided faced a first class power which was not busy somewhere else. In the Civil War both sides started in the same unprepared state. I think everyone admits today that there was in that war great financial waste, waste of life and pitiful incompetency before the point was reached where two fighting armies were produced.

#### WHY GREEN TROOPS ARE NO GOOD

"Do not think for one moment, when I say that green troops are no good, that I mean that the individuals making up those troops may not be brave men. They are, but most people in this country do not realize that an army is, in a sense, a mob, and that a mob is always subject to vivid impressions when under strong excitement—an unorganized mob to the worst impressions and to panic.

"A trained army is a disciplined mob, trained until the individuals respond automatically, not to the worst impulses, but to the impulses of its leaders. The confidence of the men in themselves, due to discipline and training, reacts on the officer and the confidence of the officer in himself, due to his preparation, reacts on the men. To defeat such troops you will have to break that confidence. An undisciplined mob cannot win in a battle." (Applause.)

## FREIGHT TRANSPORTATION IN CHICAGO

A recent investigation of teaming conditions in the loop showed that on a single day 1,740 tons of "transfer freight" originating outside of Chicago and destined to points beyond were exchanged by dray between the various downtown freight stations. In connection with the other teaming on the streets, this helps to explain the notorious jam of traffic downtown. These conditions and certain proposed remedies for them were brought out recently in two discussions on Chicago's freight problems before joint committees of the City Club which are engaged in the preparation of a plan for the improvement of the North Side. The speakers were Henry A. Goetz, who made the study above referred to, and L. T. Jamme, vice-president of the Chicago Transfer and Clearing Company. Mr. Goetz said:

"No city can succeed commercially unless it has good facilities for handling freight and that city will outstrip all others that has the superior facilities. Chicago has twenty-six separate railroads entering the city, but notwithstanding this great number of transportation lines the city is handicapped in its handling of freight. In no city are the drayage distances, the drayage expense and the delays to teams so great.

"I have here some maps illustrating the conditions which prevail in Chicago as to outbound freight shipments. This map (figure 1) shows by the dots the origin of outbound shipments for one day destined to the freight house of the Northwestern Railway; each line on the map represents a trip made by a team in delivering one of these shipments. This graphically illustrates the great number of teams that traverse the congested loop district in reaching this one freight house.

### SAVING THE TEAM HAUL

"This condition I propose to correct by the establishment of union freight houses to which any shipper may deliver outbound freight *intended for any railroad*. If a number of these stations were located at the outer limits of the loop the teams instead of going *through* the loop would be diverted to convenient

and selected points outside, thus tending to prevent congestion and shortening the haul. Figure 2 shows how the freight deliveries illustrated in figure 1 would have been made under this proposed system. The short haul will reduce the present excessive drayage expense, for which saving the shipper using these stations should reimburse the railroads by the payment of a service charge, equal to fifty per cent of the saving.

### THE CLEARING SCHEME

"These Union Stations, however, would be practical and economical only when operated in connection with the clearing house scheme, a co-operative scheme which contemplates at a point outside the city, an interchange of transfer freight (now brought into the downtown district) on a plan similar to the clearing house of the banks. At this clearing house, each road would have its own setting of cars and its individual platform for outbound loading; and an overhead transfer platform, reached by elevators able to carry six trailer trucks at one time, would afford the means of interchanging shipments between roads and platforms. Here all transfer freight coming from connecting lines would meet the outbound freight coming from union stations, substations, industries, the river and the tunnel, and the freight from all these sources would be cleared and loaded into cars in station order for the forwarding road.

"Since October 1, 1915, there has been in operation at Clearing a great hump or classification yard capable of handling 10,000 cars daily. This yard is owned by twelve trunk lines entering Chicago and was organized by Mr. W. H. Lyford, general counsel of the C. & E. I. R. R. It is a "clearing house" for car-load shipments and is operated on a co-operative plan, interest and operating charges being divided among the co-operating roads on a per car basis. Mr. Lyford has employed me to promote the handling of less-than-load transfer freight at some point outside the city on a somewhat similar plan. The results of such a plan would be an economic saving to the railroads and a relief to the down-

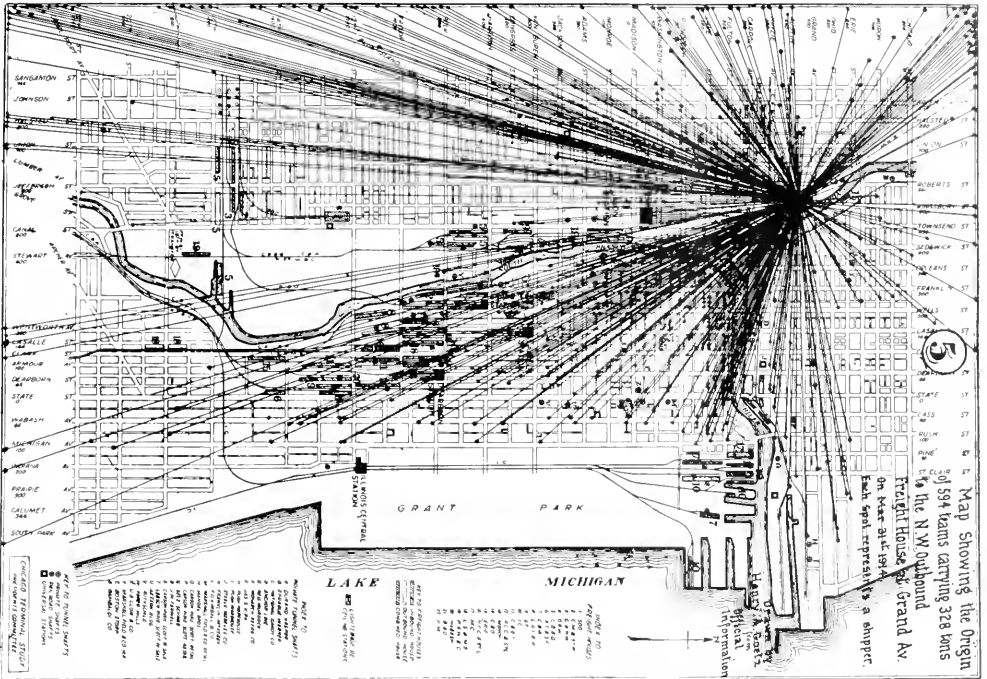


FIGURE 1—THE CONDITION. TEAM DELIVERIES TO NORTHWESTERN RAILWAY FREIGHT HOUSE, MARCH 31, 1914.

Each dot represents the origin of a shipment; each line a single trip by a team in making delivery to station. Compare figures 1 and 2 and note how, by the establishment of five union freight houses just outside the loop, to receive outboard freight for all roads, the length of haul and the amount of teaming on the downtown streets would be reduced.

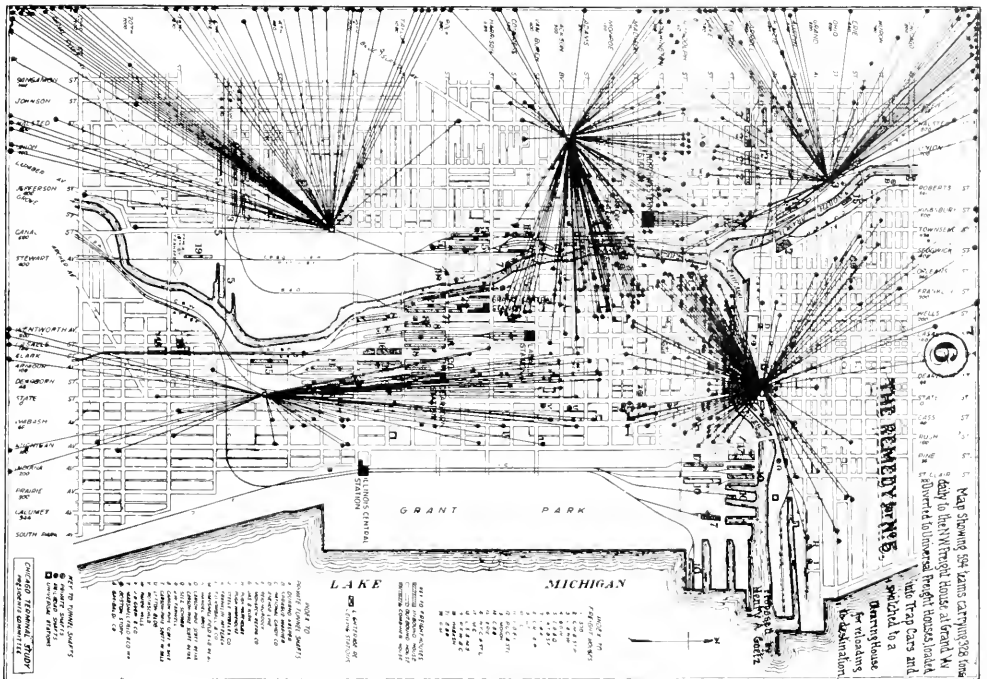


FIGURE 2—THE REMEDY. SAME DELIVERIES IF MADE TO PROPOSED UNION FREIGHT HOUSES.

town streets by diverting around the city the 2,000 tons of transfer freight now hauled through it by teams."

Mr. Goetz outlined three subjects for investigation and study in which he suggested the club might be interested. He said:

#### MANUFACTURING DISTRICTS

"First: It needs no argument to prove that the most important element in the growth of a city is the factory. A factory pays for labor and material and distributes the money at home, drawing the money therefor from other cities. A mercantile business, on the other hand, sends money away from home for its purchases and collects the money to pay for the same from its customers.

"To aid in the up-building of the manufacturing interests of the city there should be defined and located at selected places all over town areas with good switching facilities especially adapted to factories. Maps showing these locations should be prepared and given wide publicity as a guide for industries and an encouragement to such enterprises.

#### THE HANDLING OF PRODUCE

"Second: Chicago is greatly handicapped in the handling of produce for home consumption or for shipment to outside points. A visit to Randolph street or South Water street will show that Chicago has outgrown the business that it can do there and that drayage, high rents and lack of space have put an excessive overhead expense on the products sold at either place. The commission men are not concerned about this so long as the consumer is willing to assume the cost of the waste of time and pay the bill for distribution. A co-operative plan has been evolved by myself in which deliveries from car to store, from store to store, from auction house to store, from storage house to store can be made under roof and without drayage expense or teaming through the streets as the only solution of this difficulty. It is a fact that South Water street merchants have lost entirely the "mixed-car" outbound shipments because of the excessive drayage expense involved and the time involved in making up mixed cars.

"Third: Another great handicap is in the method of inspection and sale of cash grain on the Board of Trade. On arrival it is inspected by the State Board of Utilities and the samples are graded and sent to the Board of Trade. Upon sale it is reconsigned to the purchaser, and then switched to the forwarding road. The delays resulting from the many handlings often amount to eight or ten days and cause many buyers to go to other markets where more prompt service is the rule. Often 1,000 cars arrive in a single day. The interest on each consignment for an average of only five days will run to a considerable sum of money, to say nothing of the disturbance to business caused by shipping delays."

At another meeting, Mr. Jamme addressed the joint committees. One of the outstanding features of the Chicago transportation system, he said, is the fact that although the bulk of the less-than-carload tonnage (61 per cent inbound and 55 per cent outbound) is for interchange between the roads, and not destined to Chicago consumers at all, the facilities are worked out mainly with reference to local business. A large part of this traffic is brought into the central district for redistribution to outbound cars, thus increasing the congestion.

As a means of relieving this congestion in part Mr. Jamme endorsed the idea, described above by Mr. Goetz, of universal receiving stations with clearing house facilities in the outskirts of the city where consignments from the receiving stations and interchange L. C.L. shipments from out of town could be distributed to the various roads. Some railroad men, however, he said, believing that a single clearing house would be too congested, have proposed the establishment of three stations, one on the north side, say at Franklin Park; one on the west side at Clearing, and one on the south side.

#### CHICAGO FACILITIES THE BEST

"The facilities of handling L.C.L. freight in Chicago," Mr. Jamme said, "are the best in the world because the large bulk makes possible the loading of scheduled merchandise cars for almost any point in the country. So economical is this form of loading that L.



C.L. freight is often shipped into the Chicago district from points thirty to fifty miles in the country, and sent out again over the same route in scheduled merchandise cars. This freight, of course, adds to the congestion in Chicago freight houses. It ought not to be brought into the center of town, but should be kept in the outskirts.

"It is to the interest of the railroads to move their facilities so far as possible, away from the center of the city, among other reasons because of the

value of the land they now occupy there. In an investigation several years ago it was shown that, to pay the interest on this land investment, an average of fifty cents would have to be assessed on every ton of freight brought into this downtown freight district. It is very difficult to get the railroads to work together in any manner affecting their physical arrangements, but they will ultimately be forced by economic necessity to move out."

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## SANITATION IN CUBA AND PANAMA

The building of the Panama Canal has been generally recognized as one of the world's most successful experiments in governmental control of a great scientific and engineering undertaking. Especially is this true in regard to the sanitation of the Canal Zone. The work of Major General William C. Gorgas, surgeon-general of the U. S. Army, and his associates in stamping out yellow fever and malaria in this region, known as one of the most pestilential on earth, has received world-wide recognition. General Gorgas was chief sanitary officer at Havana from 1898 to 1902 and of the Canal Zone from 1904. General Gorgas spoke at the City Club on Monday, January 10, 1916. He told the extremely interesting story of the sanitation work in Cuba at the close of the Spanish-American War and how this laid the foundation for ridding the Canal Zone of yellow fever and malaria. He said:

GEN. WILLIAM C. GORGAS

"The sanitation work at Panama was a success because of two great discoveries in tropical sanitation which were made at the close of the Spanish-American War. Until the latter part of the nineteenth century our knowledge of tropical sanitation had not changed materially since the discovery of America. Yellow fever and malaria were still the great scourges of the American tropics, particularly fatal to white men unacclimated to those latitudes. Most of the great wars in America had centered around the control of the Caribbean and

West Indies, and the military and naval forces which had been sent to this part of the Americas had usually been decimated by these scourges.

### DISEASE IN THE TROPICS

"In 1798, Napoleon, as a part of his imperial policy, sent an army of 25,000 men to land at New Orleans and garrison the various French possessions west of the Alleghanies. The expedition, however, instead of proceeding to New Orleans, landed in Haiti on account of the revolution which had broken out there. The army landed in June and by October only 3,000 of the original force of 25,000 were living, owing to the ravages of disease. Four years later another expedition of 40,000 men came and half of these died within a few months. It is impossible to tell what would have been the result to American history if good sanitation had made it possible to keep these armies intact to carry out Napoleon's ambitious scheme for establishing the control of the French in North America west of the Alleghanies.

"Our armies in the Spanish-American War suffered severely on account of yellow fever and malaria. If our army before Santiago had remained as long as the French army stayed in Haiti, the outcome would probably have been much the same. At the close of the war, therefore, and particularly when we took possession of Havana—long noted as an endemic center of yellow fever—the attention of the American authorities was directed toward the blotting out of

these diseases. From 1898 to 1900, Havana was cleaned as no other city has ever been cleaned, before or since. At the end of that time, however, the yellow fever was as prevalent as ever. The natives were inclined to ridicule our efforts, because they, with the least satisfactory sanitary surroundings, were practically immune while the Americans, living under the cleanest conditions, were most subject to yellow fever. The health authorities were in despair.

#### THE REED BOARD

"At this point, a board of army medical men, headed by Walter Reed, came to Cuba to study the question. It had been the theory of most sanitary experts that yellow fever was a filth disease and it was on this assumption that the cleaning up of Havana had proceeded. In 1898, however, the theory had been announced that malaria was carried by the female of the anopheles mosquito, one of some 600 varieties. This theory was thoroughly studied by the Reed Board as applied to yellow fever. And the scientific demonstration of it by that board was probably the most mathematical ever made in medicine. Reed established a camp about five miles out of Havana and conducted his experiments, at first with negative results, but later, when the conditions were discovered under which the disease could be carried, the demonstration was positive and complete. The belief of the medical men, based on past experience that yellow fever and malaria were filth diseases, was hard to overcome, but the proof was convincing and with the new knowledge at their disposal they set to work to stamp out these diseases in Havana.

"The work was begun in February, and by May there was not a case of yellow fever in the city, a situation that had not existed for 150 years. It broke out again shortly on account of the failure to control the situation in the suburbs, but by the end of September there was not a case of yellow fever in Havana. As this had been an endemic center of this disease, this feat attracted attention throughout the world. The same result was secured with malaria, although not so much publicity was given to this fact.

#### SANITATION AT PANAMA

"At the Panama Canal the same methods were used with the same results. Panama had been known as the most unhealthful place in the tropics, particularly because more unacclimated people had come there than anywhere else, and the disease and death rate on that account had been particularly high. Within a year, yellow fever had disappeared from the Canal Zone. Owing to the fact that the mosquito which carried this disease has a possible flight of only about 200 yards, it was necessary to apply special sanitary precautions only to those parts of the Canal Zone within a certain distance of the settled communities—about 100 square miles out of the entire 500. One measure adopted was to clear away the grass along the margin of the streams, so that the small fish, which would devour the larvæ of the mosquitoes could get at the breeding places. Near permanent communities the banks were lined with concrete so the breeding places would be exposed.

"Special attention was also paid to the character of the houses. The houses erected by the government were built with screened galleries on all sides, to which entrance could be secured by a single door. This was much superior to the ordinary house with a large number of windows and doors through which mosquitoes might enter.

#### HOUSING CONDITIONS

"Housing conditions in the city of Panama received much attention from the health authorities. After the beginning of construction work on the canal, many of the laborers had to live in the city of Panama and the rents and property values accordingly went up enormously. It was a part of our sanitation problem to decrease the congestion which resulted, but the people were poor and, of course, we could not force them to build. We made an effort to have a tax placed on unused lands so as to force them into use—not a full single tax, but enough to bring the land into the market. There was great opposition to this move, however, and it was impossible to get the ordinance through. We encountered here the difficulty that is always to be met whenever

measures of this sort are being considered, namely, the difficulty of getting around the organic law of the state."

At the conclusion of his address, General Gorgas showed slides illustrating the sanitation work at Panama.

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## RESIDENCE DISTRICTS AND THE LAW

The so-called "zone system" of building regulations is common in European cities. Under this system, the municipality determines in advance the uses to which the city's area is to be put and then by legislation enforces this predetermined policy. Certain areas are reserved for industries; in others only residences can be built; there may also be mixed zones in which either class of buildings under certain restrictions is permissible. A distinction is often made also as to the class of industries or businesses which can be developed in a given area, and the type of house which may be put up. In certain districts, the height of the building, the amount of foreyard required, the closeness with which the houses may be set together and other details may be determined differently from those in other districts. The details of this "zone system" vary from city to city, but the principles and purposes are the same, namely, the better organization of the city as a place to work and a place to live, the proper adjustment to each other of industry and transportation, the exclusion of undesirable businesses from residence neighborhoods, the guarantee of the best possible conditions for city life.

### THE "ZONE SYSTEM IN AMERICA

The zone system has been recognized in a limited way in America in our "fire limits" legislation. In certain American cities, Boston, for instance, legislation has been enacted regulating heights of buildings in different zones. Some cities have also established residence districts from which business has been excluded (Los Angeles). The possibility and desirability of adopting some sort of zone building restrictions in Chicago has recently been considered by some of the City Club committees which are co-operating in the study of the North Side with a view to the preparation of a plan for its physical improvement.

On Tuesday, January 4, Judge Henry

Horner, of the Probate Court, in connection with this study, addressed these joint committees on some of the legal questions involved in the setting aside of residential districts and the exclusion therefrom of industrial and commercial establishments. Judge Horner was a member of the Charter Commission of 1914 and was chairman of its sub-committee on Municipal Legislation, which dealt with this question. This sub-committee agreed, after careful deliberation, that the city ought to have power to exclude businesses from residential neighborhoods, but that no such power at present exists nor can the Legislature under the constitution confer upon the city any power which would deny to property owners in any such districts the right to make any reasonable use of their property.

### THE POLICE POWER

Under the police power it is possible, Judge Horner said, to impose restrictions to prevent injury to public health, comfort, morals or safety, but the courts of this state have distinctly held that this power could not be extended to regulations for purely aesthetic purposes. In the so-called Friend case, involving the city's right to pass an ordinance prohibiting the erection of retail stores in exclusively residential blocks without frontage consents, the court held that while the city had authority to regulate certain specified industries detrimental to the comfort and well-being of persons residing near them, the power to prevent the erection of retail stores in general had not been expressly delegated to municipalities and the police power would not extend to restrictions of this character. The following excerpt from the decision indicates the position of the court:

"In my opinion, the General Assembly cannot be vested with power arbitrarily to single out certain portions of the city and to prohibit the erection therein of buildings other

than residences, and to *prescribe the general character of residence buildings* to be erected in such districts. So far as the public health, public safety or public welfare is not affected, the owner of private property may use and enjoy such property freely and without interference on the part of the municipal or other authorities."

The municipal regulation of billboards under the police power, Judge Horner said, had been held valid because it was proved to the satisfaction of the court that billboards may in some cases be detrimental to the health, comfort and safety of the people.

#### THE RESIDENCE DISTRICTS LAW

In 1913, the Legislature passed an act (House Bill No. 411) to grant to the City Council the power to establish residential districts from which business should be excluded. The attorney general held this law unconstitutional and the governor vetoed it. The attorney general's opinion is summarized in the following paragraph:

"The owner of the property has the constitutional right to make any use of it he desires, so long as he does not endanger or threaten the safety, health, and comfort or general welfare of the public. . . . There is nothing inherently dangerous to the health or safety of the public in conducting a retail store. . . . Legislation, either by the state or municipal corporations, which interferes with private property rights or personal liberty cannot be sustained for purely aesthetic purposes."

#### PRIVATE AGREEMENTS FEASIBLE

The Charter Commission's sub-committee on Municipal Legislation concluded, Judge Horner said, that the only manner at the present time in which business could be kept out of residence districts would be by private agreement among the owners, by the voluntary relinquishment of rights by private owners rather than a deprivation by law. Property owners in a given area by unanimous agreement could create easements on their property within the area, so that no one could erect a business establishment without the consent of all. They might even surrender to the City Council the right to determine how the neighborhood should be built up.

Where the character of a neighborhood has changed, Judge Horner said, and private agreements of the sort mentioned are violated, the restrictions may in certain cases be disregarded as a

matter of equity, as it would be manifestly unfair to enforce restrictions upon one property owner when others have been permitted to violate them.

The power of the city to condemn easements, compensating the owners for a deprivation of their rights, Judge Horner said in answer to a question, would depend upon whether the condemnation was for a public benefit. That the courts would consider an improvement of this sort, benefiting only the immediately adjacent property, a "public" benefit, he said, is doubtful.

#### LIBERALITY OF THE COURTS

In the discussion which followed Judge Horner's address the point was raised that the courts are becoming generally more liberal in their interpretation of social legislation and it may be that the facts could be so presented to the courts that there might be some hope of a modification of the legal doctrines which have prevented the establishment of residential districts. The progress of eight-hour legislation was cited as a parallel instance. Such legislation was held unconstitutional until, in the well-known Oregon case, Mr. Brandeis, fortified with a careful, scientific study of the effects of fatigue in industry, presented the facts to the court in a new way and was sustained.

Judge Horner agreed that the courts were in general becoming less technical in matters of this sort and that there might be hope along these lines—more so perhaps than through a constitutional amendment, considering the difficulty of amending the constitution and the further possibility that such legislation might not be sustained by the federal courts.

#### PARTIAL REGULATION

The suggestion was made in the course of the discussion that, while there appeared to be serious difficulties in the way of prohibiting businesses in general in residential neighborhoods, it is possible and practicable to prohibit certain specific businesses which are detrimental to the health, comfort, safety or welfare and which may be an entering wedge for other business, and that in so far as such businesses are concerned, the city now has the power to restrict.

## CHICAGO'S PROGRESS IN VICE CONTROL

The recent attack by the "Chicago Hotel Keepers' Protective Association" on the Committee of Fifteen, Chicago's leading organization for the suppression of vice, received a vigorous reply at the City Club recently, Wednesday, December 29, in an address by Samuel P. Thrasher, superintendent for the latter organization. This "Association" has spread all over the city posters charging that "paid reformers"—meaning the Committee of Fifteen—have held Chicago up to the world as a city of vice and crime, kept away from the city business capital and trade, driven vice into respectable parts of Chicago, and, by compelling the police to guard saloons and hotels, "placed the rest of the city at the mercy of thugs, robbers and murderers." Mr. Thrasher, branding these allegations as lies, charged that the organization is itself allied to the vice interests, representing, not the respectable hotel keepers of Chicago, many of whom had specifically denied any connection with it, but saloons and the cheaper hotels, many of which are known to be assignation houses, and that it is officered by saloon keepers, keepers of disorderly places and men and women with police records.

Until 1912 when State's Attorney Wayman, in a very spectacular manner, closed the so-called "Twenty-second Street District," the policy of segregation was generally followed—at least in theory—in attempts to control commercialized vice in Chicago. It is admitted that most of the members of Chicago Vice Commission appointed by Mayor Busse in 1910 at first favored this policy, but in 1911 when the Commission made its report, the verdict was unanimously against segregation and in favor of repression. Public opinion was much influenced by the conclusions of this report.

In 1913, the year following the Wayman raid, the Committee of Fifteen, organized some years previously by citizens of Chicago to aid in the work of repressing vice, employed Mr. Thrasher as its superintendent and he has since been actively engaged in the accumulating evidence and working in various ways, by

publicity and by the prosecution of offenders against the laws, to stamp out commercialized vice in Chicago.

Mr. Thrasher, in his address at the City Club, showed two maps illustrating conditions in the square mile district bounded by Sixteenth street, Stewart avenue, Twenty-sixth street and the lake. The first map, prepared in 1913, showed many houses of prostitution in operation at that time in the old Twenty-second street district. The Wayman raid, he said, had apparently only disturbed the situation in the segregated district and had made vice there only less open and flagrant. There were at this time more disreputable houses outside the district than within it, not, however, as the result of the Wayman raid, for most of them were old established places. Mr. Thrasher's conclusion from these facts was simply that vice was widely diffused outside the district even under the policy of so-called "segregation."

Within this mile square district were at least 400 houses of prostitution housing 2,000 prostitutes. If, said Mr. Thrasher, the statement by the Civil Service Commission in 1912 (probably somewhat exaggerated) that there were nearly 20,000 prostitutes in the city were only half true, the results in disease, in mental and moral degeneracy, and in money expended must have been enormous. Assuming the average daily earnings of a prostitute to be ten dollars (which is very conservative), the yearly expenditure for this purpose was at least \$36,500,000, a large part of which, moreover, went not to the girls themselves but to their male and female exploiters.

In July, 1913, as a result of the investigations of the Committee of Fifteen, a list of 100 disorderly houses, with the names of the owners, was published in the newspapers. At intervals of about two months other lists were published. This soon began to get results with the owners of property which was being used for immoral purposes. Mr. Thrasher's second map, made in 1915, showed in the square mile area above described 1,187 vacant apartments, a majority of

which were used for immoral purposes three years ago.

It is perhaps true, said Mr. Thrasher, that in some measure the vice driven out of one district located itself elsewhere, but the claim that any large amount of vice has been scattered is erroneous. Sixty per cent of the disreputable houses which existed in Chicago three years ago are gone and those which remain are doing much less business than formerly.

In conclusion, Mr. Thrasher took up the attack of the "Chicago Hotel Keepers' Protective Association." The head-

quarters of this organization, he said, stated on the letter-head to be at 18 W. Harrison street, are in a barber shop, in which the president of the organization, John Barry, a former saloon keeper, hangs out. "Having been elected to the presidency," Mr. Thrasher said, "Mr. Barry now seems to have no other business." He then dealt with the other officers of the organization, showing their connections with the vice interests, their occupations as saloon keepers or keepers of disreputable hotels, and in some cases their police records.

## SOCIALISTS AND THE WAR

The present position of Socialists in various countries in regard to peace and its terms was the subject of an address at the City Club, December 4, by William English Walling of New York, author of a number of important books on social and political questions and a prominent Socialist leader. He was introduced by Mr. Victor Yarros.

While the breakdown of international Socialism must be admitted, Mr. Walling said, the bonds between the Socialists of the various nationalities are stronger than those between any other political groups. When the military situation becomes more clear, the international Socialist movement, because of its strength in the warring nations, will be a strong factor for peace and in fixing the terms settlement. The Socialists in Germany constitute about 35% of the electorate, and in other countries they are a very imposing and forceful minority. In France, Austria and Italy, the Socialists make up about 25% of the electorate; in Holland, Denmark and Sweden, one-third or more. In England the movement is not so strong, but the Labor Party, which corresponds to the Socialist parties on the continent, is very powerful. In Russia the second Duma had over 200 Socialist members. It appears, therefore, that there is not a single important country which is likely to be involved in the peace settlement in which the Socialist movement is not strong.

### THE SOCIALIST MINORITY IN GERMANY

It is true, of course, that a majority of Socialists in the belligerent countries

are taking the same view of the war situation as the other parties. This is particularly true in Germany, but there is also a strong and growing minority of German Socialists opposed to the war policy of the government. When the war broke out only fifteen Socialists voted against the war budget—at the time it was not known to the world that there was any opposition. By March, 1915, this minority had grown to 30, by June to 36 and at the last meeting of the Reichstag to 43.

The Socialist movement in Russia is very much divided as regards the war. Many of the rank and file are against the government in the hope of overthrowing Czarism. The leaders and writers, however, are not unanimously in opposition, about half of them supporting the government in the belief that the economic development of Russia, so essential to the growth of democracy, might be very seriously hampered in the event of German victory and that the Kaiser, if the Germans win, would be the chief supporter of Czarism.

In Italy the party organization is anti-war and willing to subscribe to almost any peace terms. Large numbers have opposed this policy, but they have been turned out of the party.

### CONFERENCE AT LONDON

Mr. Walling described the peace terms which have been discussed at a number of Socialist conferences held since the beginning of the war. A Socialist conference held in London in February, made its one most important plank that

there should be a plebiscite in disputed territories, so that the people themselves might determine the government under which they should be included. This conference unfortunately did not mention the disputed territory of England's ally, Russia, nor did it consider the very important question as to how the plebiscite should be taken. The population of Alsace-Lorraine, for instance, is both French and German, and if nationality is to be the determining factor the vote would presumably have to be taken district by district. They also failed to take into account that there are pressing economic questions in these disputed territories that might outweigh the questions of nationality—Trieste, for instance, besides being a disputed territory on nationality grounds, is absolutely necessary as an economic outlet for Austria. This conference also declared for the overthrow of German militarism, but this was not intended, as many German Socialists believed, to mean the subjugation of Germany itself.

#### THE GERMAN "MANIFESTO"

The second important conference was held last August—a meeting of German and Austrian Socialists. This conference issued a so-called "peace manifesto"—not a genuine peace declaration, however, but a strong pro-German document to which there was vigorous opposition by the Socialist minority. The manifesto declared that the war must be continued because the allies had declared for the subjugation of Germany. They went on record—minority and majority joined on the point—against all annexations, which of course meant among other things that there should be no change in the status of Alsace-Lorraine. The majority declared against the surrender, under any circumstances, of any territory by Germany, Austria or Turkey.

Many German Socialists are in favor of the plan proposed by Delbrueck and Dernberg to exchange German victories on the continent for foreign colonies. They do not want a Polish problem on their hands but are willing to build up a commercial empire in Asia or Africa.

#### THE ZIMMERWALD CONFERENCE

A Socialist conference held at Zimmerwald (Switzerland) in September

was attended by delegates from a number of nations, including the powerful German minority. It declared for immediate peace at any price, without regard to the military situation—a position, however, not altogether consistent with another action taken at the conference, for it did submit terms on the basis of which peace ought to be brought about. It is questionable, Mr. Walling said, if the conference would have taken the "peace at any price" position if Russian rather than German arms had been in the ascendancy. The conference declared for a plebiscite in all disputed territories.

How do American Socialists look at the war? They also are divided, Mr. Walling said, but a recent referendum on a program prepared by the National Committee has pledged the party to the principal of no indemnities and no transfer of territory, except upon consent and vote of the people within that territory, and also for plebiscites in all disputed territories.

#### PROGRAM OF THE AMERICAN PARTY

This program pledged the party to the idea of an international federation controlled by a congress with permanent committees in place of the present secret diplomacy, and with special committees to consider international disputes as they arise—the decisions of such committees to be enforced without resort to arms. It declares for the international ownership and control of strategic waterways and the neutralization of the seas; for universal disarmament as speedily as possible, and, pending this, abolition of the manufacture of munitions of war for private profit and prohibition of the export of war supplies from one country to another; against the increase of armaments under any circumstances and against appropriations for military and naval purposes. The program demands an extension of political and industrial democracy, the abolition of secret diplomacy and democratic control of foreign policies, and radical social changes in all countries to eliminate the causes of war.

Many pleasant comments have been received on the evening dining room service in the grill room. A special 75-cent table d'hôte supper as a feature daily.

## THE FORD HALL IDEA

"A combination of town meeting and corner grocery" was the way in which Mr. Harold Marshall of Boston characterized Ford Hall, Boston's forum for the exchange and discussion of ideas, at a meeting of the City Club Saturday, January 22, 1916. Mr. Marshall is a member of the Ford Hall Foundation. The New England town meeting, he said, was probably our nearest approach to democratic government, but it was a political institution only, and the village store or postoffice where the men who directed the life of the community gathered in the evenings to discuss the state of the nation made an additional contribution to democratic government by affording a means for the free interchange of ideas. Mr. Marshall said further (in brief):

"Ford Hall was founded by Mr. George Coleman, president of the Boston City Council, about ten years ago after a visit to the Cooper Union in New York. It was not a great success to begin with but, largely by reason of its geographical situation and the character of its backers, it did get at the start the interest of a considerable number of new Americans, young immigrant Jews and Italians mostly, among whom we found the greatest eagerness to learn what America means. Since that time the constituency of the forum has broadened and its audiences now are really a cross-section of the community—including not only this immigrant and labor group but a liberal sprinkling of clergymen, college professors and business men.

### BOSTON'S PUBLIC FORUM

"The enterprise got but little support from the newspapers at the start but word was passed around and the audiences grew until they now number about 1,500. The meetings are held on Sunday nights. Crowds are waiting long before the doors are opened at 7:00 o'clock and the hall is soon filled to its capacity. First there is an hour's address on some live public question by a speaker competent to deal with it and this is followed by an hour of questions and answers. Persons unable to

get in for the address often wait until the conclusion of the address at nine o'clock so as to be present for the questions. At first many people, particularly the radicals, were very suspicious of the enterprise, but when they discovered that their questions received frank and sympathetic replies their suspicions were allayed and they have become enthusiastic supporters of the forum.

"The forum movement gets its grip because it appeals to a class of people who are fundamentally democratic and can find their democracy expressed in no other institution. The social mechanism for the interchange of public opinion is very inefficient. Many ministers could tell us things but we don't go to church. The newspaper does not furnish us a channel for the free expression of ideas, for it is a commercial proposition and there are enormous financial interests who want to keep us from seeing who is getting away with the 'swag.' So we are forced back on word of mouth as a means for the expression of public opinion—and that is where the forum comes in.

"The forum serves a still deeper need. It teaches people to look at each other as human beings and not as members of classes, sects or nationalities different from themselves. Where people are brought together thus on a human basis they come to respect and like each other and to be tolerant of each others views. The forum cannot be exploited by any church, class or 'ism' if it is to succeed.

### THE FORUM AT LAWRENCE

"The Ford Hall idea has spread to many other Massachusetts communities. The forum at Lawrence was originally planned as a Y. M. C. A. enterprise but was actually organized on a much broader basis; the board, for instance, included among others a leading capitalist, a prominent labor leader, a catholic editor and a Hebrew. The forum at Lawrence has been in existence for two years and it is so well liked by all classes of the community that sufficient money for its support could be obtained from either the capitalists or the labor and



foreign groups alone. It has brought together in the audiences and on the platform men who in the great strike at Lawrence four years before had come to regard each other as the bitterest enemies—as pernicious agitators on the one hand and as grinders of the poor on the other—and has helped them to see each other as human beings.

#### THE MELROSE MEETINGS

“Another interesting forum is in my own city, Melrose, Mass., a community of 16,000 people, of whom about 3,500 are commuters. The Melrose community meetings were started as a church enterprise but are now held in the Soldiers’ and Sailors’ community hall,

erected largely by individual subscriptions at a cost of \$100,000. As an example of the public interest which has been aroused, 700 people braved a bad blizzard Christmas day to attend one of these meetings. The commuters—men of the type who work in Boston and sleep in the suburbs and acknowledge responsibility to neither place—have been roused up by these meetings to an interest in community affairs.

“The forum movement is spreading. Forums of the sort I have described have been organized in thirty or forty Massachusetts communities and in many other cities from Portland, Maine, to San Diego.”

## PRISON PROGRESS IN NEW YORK CITY

Forty-seven per cent of the prisoners passing through the workhouse of the Department of Corrections in New York City in 1915 were repeaters, who had been convicted of other offences within the preceding five years—the number of these offences ranging from two to thirty-seven. Prison discipline had failed to reform them. Having been through the mill of arrest, conviction and imprisonment they had been turned loose on society to repeat their offences and become again, in time, a burden and expense upon society.

Probably one of the most important reasons why prison methods in the past have failed to bring about the permanent reform of prisoners has been the lack of an adequate system of industrial training, which would enable prisoners at the expiration of their sentences to earn an honest livelihood and secure a normal footing in society. Without such training, efforts at the reformation of prisoners will come to nothing, was the opinion expressed by Miss Katherine Bement Davis in an address at the City Club, Wednesday, January 19. Miss Davis is chairman of the Parole Commission of New York City, and was until recently Commissioner of Corrections there. She told of the difficulties which have been encountered in the attempt to provide industrial training for the prisoners in New York City’s penal institutions. She said:

#### *Katherine Bement Davis*

“A serious difficulty in the way of developing a proper system of industrial training has been the city’s slowness to adopt modern methods of work and its unwillingness to scrap out-of-date machinery. The present shoe machinery, for instance, was installed 25 years ago by a private company under the contract labor system and has been retained in spite of the fact that no modern manufacturer would use such facilities. It is impossible to train men to earn their living in the outside world so long as these inefficient methods and machinery are used. The plant, moreover, is not used to its full capacity through the twenty-four hours and for this reason it is not economically profitable—if it were, steps might be taken toward the adoption of the system, so much advocated by prison reformers, of the payment of wages to the families of prisoners. A hopeful move toward a more efficient organization of prison industry has been made by the provision in the annual budget for a superintendent of prison industry, whose function it will be to supervise and control the industrial features of the city penal institutions.

“Another difficulty that has been encountered is the attitude of organized labor. This is one of the reasons why farm colonies have been advocated—there is no organization of labor to op-

pose prison industry of this sort. Road work, such as has been undertaken for prisoners in Colorado and other places, is of course, impossible in a great city like New York.

#### INDETERMINATE SENTENCES

"Still another obstacle has been the system of short fixed sentences for prisoners which has not allowed sufficient time for any sort of adequate training. At the city reformatory, indeterminate sentences under certain restrictions have been permitted, but, until the passage of a new law last winter, sentences to any of the other penal institutions were for a determinate period. The new law, however, provides for indeterminate sentences to the workhouse and the city penitentiary, where more serious offences are dealt with. Any person sentenced to the workhouse for the third time may under this law be kept for a period not to exceed two years, and at the penitentiary all sentences will be for three years unless sooner paroled.

#### THE PAROLE OF PRISONERS

"The new law provides for a parole commission of three members in addition to the police commissioner and the commissioner of correction, *ex officio*, and, if he chooses to act, the judge who decided the case under consideration. The commission has just been organized and is at present trying to determine the standards for parole. Five general considerations will govern the commission in its granting of paroles:

"First. The physical health of the prisoner. It is not right to turn back upon the community a person who is not well enough to earn his own living.

"Second. The industrial efficiency of the prisoner. If he is not industrious or is inefficient, it is better to keep him until these faults are corrected than to turn him out on the community.

"Third. The possibility of placing the prisoner in a satisfactory environ-

ment. Sometimes special cases arise where better opportunities for restoring the prisoner to a normal life can be provided outside the prison than in it.

"Fourth. The prisoner's past record. Prisoners convicted a number of times will not receive so much consideration as a first offender. As an aid in investigating a prisoner's past record a plan is being worked out for a central bureau of identification which will consolidate the identification records now scattered among a number of different offices.

"Fifth. The prisoner's record in the institution.

#### THE PROBATION SYSTEM

"One of the chief necessities of the present in dealing with crime in New York is to secure better co-operation between the different agencies dealing with it, the police, the courts, the district attorney and the penal institutions. An extreme instance of the lack of co-operation is the probation system. There are four independent sets of probation officers in Manhattan, in the Magistrate's courts, the Court of Special Sessions, the Court of General Sessions and the Children's Court. Until January 1, 1916, the officers of the Court of General Sessions were supported by private religious organizations. Their salaries have, however, been provided for in the city budget of 1916 and they will be appointed through civil service. In the County Courts of the other four boroughs of Greater New York detectives do the probation work. The probation work would be much more satisfactory if it were under a uniform system, with a uniform set of records and a single set of officers. An effort to secure a consolidation of these forces is now being made.

"It is our hope that the new Parole Commission may serve as a unifying force, bringing together as it does all the departments of the city government which deal with the problems of crime."

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The state of Idaho recently passed a unique labor law, requiring the county commissioners to provide emergency employment to United States citizen residents for six months in the state and out

of employment. No person may have more than sixty days' employment from the county during any one year. This is the first recognition by any state of the principle of "the right to work."

## CIVIC NOTES

The College of Agriculture at the University of Illinois has issued a very attractive book by Professor Wilhelm Miller, of the Division of Landscape Extension, entitled "The Prairie Spirit in Landscape Gardening." The prairie style of landscape gardening, according to this book, aims to fit the peculiar scenery, climate, style, labor and other conditions of the prairies instead of copying literally the manners and materials of other regions. It is defined as "an American mode of design based upon the practical needs of the middle-western people and characterized by preservation of typical western scenery, by restoration of local color, and by repetition of the horizontal line of land or sky, which is the strongest feature of prairie scenery."

This book can be obtained free from the Department of Horticulture, University of Illinois, by anyone who will promise to do some permanent ornamental planting within a year.

J. W. Schereschewsky, of the United States Public Health Service, in a recent report on the health of garment workers, says:

"Garment workers, as a class, exhibit a large number of defects and diseases, only about 2 per cent being free from defects. Tuberculosis is undoubtedly the most serious disease prevalent among garment workers. The disease is most prevalent, both in males and females, in the poorest paid class of garment workers, i. e., finishers. This is in conformity with a well-known economic law in regard to the prevalence of tuberculosis, the tuberculosis rate being roughly in inverse ratio to the income. Besides lower earning capacity, other disadvantageous economic conditions tend to cause greater prevalence of tuberculosis among workers in the finisher groups. These are more subject to overcrowding in the home than other workers, because of a lower average of rooms in their domiciles and a larger average number of members in the family."

An organization known as the Committee on Industrial Relations has been formed to make effective the recommendations presented to Congress and the Nation by the United States Commission on Industrial Relations, whose work ended by statutory limitation last August. The chairman of the Committee is Frank P. Walsh and the director is Basil P. Manly.

The plans of the Committee are stated to be as follows:

"First—An active educational campaign to show how and why collective bargaining through strong organizations makes for justice, industrial stability and individual development.

"Second—To urge upon Congress and the State Legislature a definite legislative program, designed primarily to remove the obstacles which now prevent effective organization of employes and hamper their negotiations with employers.

"Third—The maintenance of a small staff of experienced investigators to secure the facts regarding labor conditions and industrial disputes, and an effective publicity organization to give the facts the widest possible circulation."

In his annual report for 1915, President Peter Reinberg, of the Board of Cook County Commissioners, says:

"The ninth floor of the County Building continues a waste space instead of a source of revenue. The proposal to issue bonds for its completion was not approved by the voters and some other method of procuring the necessary funds must be sought. If the county can find the means to complete the floor, I believe a portion of the space can be leased at a rental that in a few years would pay the cost of the improvement. The Appellate Court is paying \$18,500 for 11,500 feet in the Michigan Boulevard Building, and the Sanitary District pays \$27,600 for 24,000 feet, including areas, hall and stairways. The rate paid by the Appellate Court, which pays for no waste space, is about \$1.60 per square foot, and the Sanitary District \$1.15. The ninth floor covers approximately 40,000 feet, half of which, at \$1.50 a square foot, would produce a rental of \$30,000. I have no doubt the county could find a tenant in some municipal or state corporation which would take a portion of the floor when finished."

Police women are now employed in 26 cities. Chicago has 21; Baltimore, Los Angeles, and Seattle, 5 each; Pittsburgh, 4; San Francisco, Portland, Ore., and St. Paul, 3 each, and Dayton, O., Topeka, Kan., and Minneapolis, Minn., 2 each. Fifteen other cities have 1 each. Their pay ranges from \$625 per annum in Dayton to \$1,200 in San Francisco.

Of the 204 cities of over 30,000, 155 have municipally owned water-supply systems, the total estimated value of which is \$1,071,000,000.

The Joint Board of Sanitary Control for the cloak, suit and skirt, and the dress and waist industries in New York—a body which, since its organization in 1911, has devoted a great deal of attention to fire hazards in these industries—has issued a report of an investigation recently made by its director, Dr. George M. Price. Numerous disastrous fires, with great loss of life, have occurred in these industries, but despite public agitation for better protection, the situation, according to Dr. Price's investigation, is still very dangerous and the chance for escape in large fires very small. Out of the 928 buildings, housing over 75,000 persons in these two industries, only 32 were found which had perfect safety conditions as to exits. Eighty per cent had only one stairway and many of the stairways were of the dangerous "winder" type or were too narrow or defective in construction. Many of these conditions are in violation of law.

The report recommends a number of amendments to the law, including a provision for the compulsory equipment of all factories below six stories in height with at least two separate stairways of proper width and properly enclosed with fireproof partitions.

An interesting experiment in co-operative industry is being carried on by the so-called Llano Del Rio colony in Los Angeles County, California. This colony, which started about a year and a half ago with practically no capital, has now a membership of between six and seven hundred persons.

Land and the instruments of production are owned in common and industry is on a co-operative basis. Every member of the colony, no matter whether his work is physical or mental, skilled or unskilled, is paid the same wage for the same amount of work, measured in time. The chief industry at the present time is farming, but it is intended that, so far as possible, the community shall be self-sufficing, producing everything needed for its own consumption. The government and the business and industrial management of the colony are under an elected commission of nine members. There is no attempt at communal living; household and personal property are held privately.

The colony is described in detail by Hugh S. Hanna in the January number of the Monthly Review of the U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics. The initial difficulties of such an experiment, says Mr. Hanna, are, of course, very great, and it is still too early to draw any conclusions.

"An entirely barren desert has to be turned into a farm, a system of irrigation has to be constructed and several hundred people have to be given shelter." It is estimated, however, that already, in spite of these initial difficulties, 90 per cent of the food consumed is being produced by the community.

The commission form of government is in effect in eighty-one of the 204 cities of the United States of over 30,000 inhabitants. The largest city at present operating under the commission form of government is Buffalo, which inaugurated the system on January 1st of this year. Other large cities under this form of government are New Orleans, Washington, D. C., Portland, Ore., and Denver.



The next popular concert of the Chicago Symphony Orchestra will be given in Orchestra Hall, Thursday, February 10, at 8:15 p. m. The program will be as follows:

March, "Tannhäuser".....Wagner  
Andante from Symphony No. 5..Beethoven  
Three Dances, "Henry VIII".....German  
    Morris Dance.  
    Shepherd's Dance.  
    Torch Dance.  
Ave Maria.....Schubert-Lux  
Suite, "Sigurd Jorsalfar".....Grieg  
    Prelude.  
    Intermezzo.  
    March.

#### INTERMISSION

Poetic Scenes.....Godard  
    In the Forest.  
    In the Village.  
Cortege, "Fantastique".....Moszkowski  
Waltz, "Legends from the Vienna Woods"  
    .....Joh. Strauss  
Italian Capriccio.....Tschaikowsky

# The City Club Bulletin

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## CLUB NOTES

The City Club is arranging to hold another symposium. It will be more extended than the one of last year. It will occupy four meetings—Wednesday, April 26; Wednesday, May 3; Wednesday, May 10, and Friday, May 19. The subject for the series will be "The Ideals of Contemporary Life."

Each evening will begin with the first address at six o'clock. Dinner will come at seven and the other two speeches will follow dinner.

The object of the symposium is indicated in the following extract from the letter of invitation to one of the speakers:

"The hope is to contribute thus at least in some slight degree toward shaping a clearer and better ideal—or clearer and better ideals—for ourselves and our country.

"Possibly you feel, as some of us here do, that as a people our life is too much marked, on its practical side by disorder and waste, and on its intellectual and moral sides by distraction and irresolution, owing in part at

least to the lack of any sufficiently clear spiritual purpose or purposes serving to coordinate and unify our thought and action.

"The first need for meeting these conditions, with a view to their possible improvement, would seem to be an appraisal of the ideals which really exist—a measuring of what people, in the great typical departments of contemporary activity, are doing or trying to do about life, broadly considered, what are the essential and permanent objectives which they are seeking to attain. Aside from its great interest such an appraisal, dealing with things as they are rather than as they ought to be, should help toward some constructive forward effort."

A detailed announcement of the symposium, giving the twelve speakers, will be mailed to all club members shortly. Each evening will be a "ladies' night."

The annual meeting of the City Club for the reports of officers and committees and for the election of officers and directors for the coming year will be held at the Club House on Saturday, April 15th. The following nominations have been posted by the special Nominating Committee, as provided in the by-laws of the Club:

PRESIDENT—FRANK I. MOULTON.

VICE-PRESIDENT — WILLIAM SCOTT BOND.

SECRETARY—ROY C. OSGOOD.

TREASURER—HAROLD H. ROCKWELL.

DIRECTORS—ALFRED L. BAKER, EDGAR A. BANCROFT, GEO. H. MEAD, SHELBY M. SINGLETON.

The Nominating Committee was composed of Spencer L. Adams, chairman; Thomas W. Allinson, Frederick Burlingham, F. H. Deknatel, James J. Forstall.

An interesting evening event at the City Club recently was the illustrated musical lecture on March 7 by Thomas W. Surette of Oxford, England, on "Nationalism in Music." Mr. Surette illustrated his talk on the piano with folk songs of different nationalities, his theme being that music is a medium for the expression of national characteristics and at the same time an international

language. He showed how symphonic music grew from the folk song and how the development of this natural form of musical expression was cut across and retarded by the popular enthusiasm for opera which swept across Europe. The lecture was well attended and very much enjoyed. Following Mr. Surette's address Miss Josephine Large presented a series of piano compositions by composers of various nationalities.

The proposal for the sale of the Automatic Telephone plant to the Bell interests was debated at the City Club on February 16, by Ralph N. Shaw, attorney for the bondholders of the "Automatic" company, and Ald. Charles E. Merriam, who was one of the signers of the report of the minority of the City Council "Gas-Oil" Committee opposing this sale. This ordinance was passed by the City Council by a vote of 46 to 22 on March 11 and was signed by the mayor on March 22.

The following new members have joined the City Club since the last issue of the City Club Bulletin:

Rev. Benjamin F. Aldrich, First Congregational Church.  
 Fred G. Allen, president, Fred G. Allen Auto Supply Co.  
 Mortimer A. Allen, Marshall Field & Co.  
 Albert K. Atkinson, Mutual Life Insurance Co.  
 J. A. Berry, New York Life Insurance Co.  
 Dr. L. Ward Brigham, St. Paul's Universalist Church.  
 Harry Brown, lawyer.  
 J. Melville Brown, Ouilmette Commissary Co.  
 Schuyler C. Brown, Felt & Tarrant Manufacturing Co.  
 Arthur E. Bryson, N. W. Halsey & Co.  
 Kenneth P. Burgess, attorney, C., B. & Q. Ry.  
 James R. Busley, Jas. A. Banister Co., shoe manufacturers, Newark, N. J.  
 Prof. Nathaniel Butler, University of Chicago.  
 Edwin H. Clark, architect, Otis & Clark.  
 B. D. Cole, Howard Cole & Co., timber lands.  
 S. E. Comstock, motor cars.  
 Paul A. Cooley, Willow Wood Supply Co.  
 C. W. Cozzens, Texas Land & Development Co.  
 John T. Crocker, purchasing agent, C., M. & St. P. Ry.  
 William Nевarre Cromwell, attorney.  
 Frank Crozier, attorney.  
 Emory B. Curtis, Curtis & Sanger.  
 James A. Davis, investments.

Harvey Flanders, principal, Hinsdale Township High School.  
 Charles O. Fowler, By-Products Coke Corporation.  
 George P. Girard, Autocar Sales Service Co.  
 Wilmot I. Goodspeed, Goodspeed Press.  
 Elbert E. Haight, business manager, "Motor Age."  
 Samuel D. Heckaman, attorney.  
 Blaine Hoover, secretary to Eames MacVeagh.  
 A. M. Jens, insurance engineer.  
 Hiram B. Kadish, accountant.  
 L. J. Kempf, Travelers' Insurance Co.  
 Charles A. Kent, principal, Eugene Field School.  
 Demarest Lloyd, retired.  
 C. Hammond Mann, Vermont Implement Co.  
 C. S. Marsh, registrar, College of Liberal Arts, Northwestern University.  
 William R. Medaris, attorney.  
 Julius H. Meyer, New England Life Insurance Co.  
 C. H. Morgan, C. H. Morgan & Co., printers.  
 G. E. Munch, American Development Co., Street Lights.  
 Charles F. Murray, patent attorney.  
 W. J. Norton, William Jerrem's Sons  
 Otis D. Nusbaum, attorney.  
 Harry W. Osborne, Graton & Knight Manufacturing Co.  
 Veeder B. Paine, lawyer.  
 Locke Perfitt, manager, Foreign Department, Corn Exchange National Bank.  
 Harry W. Potter, auditor, Edwards & Bradford Lumber Co.  
 Walter H. Rietz, National Ex-Ray Reflector Co.  
 Dr. Walter Rittenhouse, physician.  
 Louis A. Seeberger, real estate.  
 Perry Dunlap Smith, teacher.  
 A. H. Standish, retired.  
 Robert E. Taylor, physical instructor, West Chicago Park Commission.  
 P. J. Templeton, McMullen Levens Co.  
 Stuart J. Templeton, attorney.  
 Percy G. Ullman, Mutual Benefit Life Insurance Co.  
 Henry K. Urion, attorney.  
 A. C. Wagner, Marshall Field & Co., wholesale.  
 B. B. Wallace, instructor, Political Science, Northwestern University.  
 Lyman A. Walton, retired.  
 Charles S. Watson, manager, Claim Department, Globe Indemnity Co.  
 Leo. L. Weil, lawyer.  
 W. O. Willison, granite and marble.  
 Charles E. Wright, collection manager, Consumers Co.

A vigorous fight is being conducted at Washington before the Committee on Appropriations to prevent the construction by the government on the Mall fronting the Potomac River, of a great central heating and power plant, which,

with its huge chimneys, would very seriously mar the appearance of the water front. The City Planning Committee of the City Club, on February 14th, sent a telegram to the chairman of the committee and to the senators from Illinois urging that there be a sufficient delay in the appropriation for this plant to allow thorough consideration of the plan by the Fine Arts Commission.

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Death in the last few weeks has taken two of Chicago's great physicians, both members of the City Club:

Henry Baird Favill died of pneumonia at Springfield, Mass., February 20, 1916, at the age of 56. Dr. Favill's career of community service touched many fields. Besides his activities as physician and teacher of medicine, he devoted much of his tireless energy to movements for the better protection of public health. His civic activities, however, were not confined to the field of his profession. From 1906 until his death he was a member of the Board of Directors of the City Club, from 1907 to 1910 chairman of its Public Affairs Committee, and from 1910 to 1912 its president. He was for three years president of the Municipal Voters' League, and was one of the organizers and trustees of the Bureau of Public Efficiency. These are only a few of the many directions in which he exerted his vigorous personality and great capacity for work in the public interest. On February 26th a memorial meeting for Dr. Favill was held at the City Club. A report of this meeting will be printed in the next issue of the City Club Bulletin.

The death of Dr. Theodore B. Sachs, by his own hand, on Sunday, April 2nd, has moved Chicago as few things have done. Dr. Sachs came to Chicago 24 years ago, at the age of 23, from Odessa, Russia. After a time spent in a law office he turned his attention to the study of medicine, earning his way through the College of Physicians and Surgeons. From the very first he gave much of his time as a physician to work among the poor, and here his interest in the prevention and treatment of tuberculosis began. In time he became one of America's greatest authorities in this field, his pre-eminent position being recognized by his recent election as president of the

National Association for the Study and Prevention of Tuberculosis. He was a promoter of the legislation in 1909 which authorized the levying of taxes for the construction of a Municipal Tuberculosis Sanitarium in Chicago, and was placed on the Board of Trustees of this institution by Mayor Busse. Serving on this board without compensation, a large part of his time for many months was given up to the planning and supervision of work on this institution, and, after its completion, to its active management. The attacks on his work by the city administration and the pressure which he asserted was placed on him to supplant efficient employes with spoils politicians caused him recently to resign, and the discouragement ensuing upon this apparent ruin of his life work caused him to seek death by his own hand. Chicago has never had a more shocking of dramatic awakening to the evils of spoils methods in the public service. An organized effort is being made by citizens to protect and conserve the great institution to which Dr. Sachs dedicated his life. Dr. Sachs was a member of the City Club from 1907 till the time of his death, and was identified in various ways with its public health activities. He was at the time of his death a member of the City Club Committee on Public Health.

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When newspaper accounts indicated recently that the appropriation for the Morals Inspection Division of the Police Department, amounting to \$36,000, was in danger of being vetoed by the Mayor, the City Club Committee on Public Order sent to the Mayor, March 9th, a protest against any curtailment of this appropriation. The committee said in the course of its letter:

"You are no doubt aware of the effective manner in which independent inspection departments are maintained in the United States Army and by the Post Office Department in Chicago and other large cities and of the increased efficiency resulting therefrom. Experience has certainly shown that organizations such as police departments generally cannot and, as a matter of practice, never will do any effective work along the lines of self-inspection, and experience has also shown that since the creation of the

Morals Inspection Division much good has been done in the way of suppressing organized and commercialized vice and in the way of strengthening the morale of the regular police force."

The committee's protest was one of a large number filed by citizens or organizations with the Mayor. On March 11th the Mayor signed the appropriation ordinance without the veto of any items.

Morton Culver Hartzell died at Pasadena, California, on February 17th, his fortieth birthday. Mr. Hartzell will be remembered for his fight on organized vice in the vicinity of the South Park Avenue Methodist Church, of which he was pastor. His health was broken down in this fight, and most of the time since then he was in California for his health. Mr. Hartzell was a member of the City Club from 1905 until the time of his death.

The City Club Committee on Labor Conditions, after a very thorough study of the "Buck Report" on policing strikes, presented its views on this subject to the City Council Committee on Schools, Fire, Police and Civil Service at a hearing on Wednesday, January 26th. The committee endorsed the proposal to abolish the granting of commissions to private guards in the pay of the employer. It also approved the recommendation that in each strike there should be a conference between the general superintendent of police and the representatives of the contending parties for the purpose of discussing the policing of the strike. The committee urged that this conference be made the means for announcing the policy of the police department with reference to the strike. On this point the committee said:

"This action would affect a very considerable reform and would be a step in the right direction. It would bring the representatives of the contending parties and the responsible head of the police department into conference, and would require the Chief of Police to set forth publicly a *policy* of policing the strike. The public announcement of a *policy* by the police department would tend to free the department from the suspicion of partiality. At least the department would have to defend its policy on its merits. The policy, thus announced, might readily be changed when, in the opinion of the Chief, such change was needed."

The committee did not make any rec-

ommendation as to the proposed formation of a strike bureau in the police department. It declared itself in sympathy with the intent of this provision, but felt that the machinery suggested would not be likely to produce the desired result—that is, the collection of information as a means of determining police policies as to strikes.

The committee felt that many of the points dealt with in the reports are of minor importance and could be omitted without impairing its general value.

The Committee on Parks and Playgrounds recently sent to the senators and congressmen from Illinois a letter urging the passage of House Bill No. 8668, the so-called "Kent bill," creating a national park service in the Department of Interior. The Committee believes that if the national parks can be brought under one central management, as provided in this bill, they can be developed more effectively and economically, their use and enjoyment by the public will be greatly facilitated and increased and the general value of the parks as a national asset largely enhanced.

Samuel S. Greeley died in Winnetka on March 8th at 92 years of age. He had been a member of the City Club since 1905. Morris L. Greeley, a son, and Samuel A. Greeley, a grandson, are members of the Club. Mr. Greeley was a member of the Harvard class of 1844, and of the class of 1846 of Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute. He did considerable railway location and construction work in New York, Vermont and Virginia, and in the late fifties was appointed Superintendent of the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy R. R., which position he held for a short time. In 1853 he entered into a land-surveying business with Mr. Hanchett in Chicago, which continued until last year, when the firm name was changed to the Greeley, Howard and Norlin Company. He was appointed city surveyor of Chicago in 1855, and served for one term. In 1879 he took into the firm as a partner the late Frederick Greeley, who was secretary of the City Club in 1908 and 1909, and afterward his son, Morris L. Greeley. Mr. Greeley was one of the



four organizers, in 1857, of the Harvard Club of Chicago, and was later its President. At the time of his death he was the oldest alumnus of Harvard University.

The Water Supply Committee of the City Club has re-issued the report of its sub-committee on Water Waste in Chicago, first made public last June, with some additional recommendations for preliminary steps to be taken by the city to conserve its water supply. These recommendations are as follows:

"(a) The City Council should appropriate approximately \$10,000.00 for the construction of meter vaults at the curb where they cannot be set in basements. Such vaults, readily entered by meter readers and set and owned, like the meter, by the Water Department, have been found necessary in Cleveland and many other cities. The department is prepared to set over 2,000 meters on large business places as soon as the City Council appropriates the necessary funds for vaults.

"(b) All unmetered premises devoted in whole or in part to business uses and all public buildings should be metered.

"(c) The city Water Department should have the authority to set meters, not only as now where the frontage rate is \$100.00 per year and more, but where it is \$50.00 a year. Later the limit should be reduced to \$25.00."

The report is signed by Edward W. Bemis, Ray Palmer and Henry W. Clausen. Copies may be procured on application at the City Club.

Frederick W. Clark, a member of the City Club since 1911, died on February 5th. Mr. Clark was a general contractor, having offices in the Insurance Exchange Building. He was a member of the class of 1880 of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, and was assistant professor of mining engineering and metallurgy at that institution from 1885-1889.

The Committee on Local and State Charities on February 10 recommended to the County Board favorable action upon the proposal then pending for the amalgamation in a single bureau under

civil service of the various social service departments and activities of the county. The departments named were these: Department of Public Welfare, Social Service Division (non-support), Social Service Departments of the Psychopathic Hospital and of the State's Attorney's Office, Marriage and Divorce Statistician, Department for the Investigation of Feeble Minded Cases. The consolidation of these offices under the title "Bureau of Social Service" was effected by vote of the County Board on February 11. The appropriation for the new bureau is slightly in excess of \$18,000 and provides, besides clerical help, for a director, a superintendent of social investigations, ten investigators and three nurses.

On February 5 Walter L. Fisher addressed the City Club on the subject of "Preparations for Peace." Mr. Fisher's address has been printed as a government document, and copies will be mailed to any member of the club on request, addressed to the Club Office.

Mr. Thomas W. Swan, whose appointment as Dean of the Yale Law School was recently announced, has resigned as a member of the Board of Directors of the City Club and as chairman of its Committee on Public Affairs. Professor George H. Mead of the University of Chicago has been appointed as chairman of the Public Affairs Committee in his stead, and his place on the Board of Directors is being filled by George D. Webb.

It is hardly realized throughout the country that 13,000,000 people domiciled in the United States, one in eight, are not naturalized—owe allegiance to some foreign power—and that there are 3,000,000 people in the country who do not speak English. Raymond F. Crist, U. S. Deputy Commissioner of Naturalization, brought out these facts at a meeting on February 19, arranged by the City Club Committee on Immigration and Citizenship. They show vividly the importance and difficulty of the task of the Bureau of Naturalization and the schools in bringing about the assimila-

tion of these foreign elements into American citizenship.

The Naturalization Bureau is working in many directions to improve the opportunities for citizenship education:

1. It has worked out a citizenship course covering the three-year period between the filing of declaration and the receiving of final papers. In Washington 5,000 foreigners have taken this course.

2. It has organized citizenship lectures in various cities.

3. It provides school authorities with the names and addresses of persons who have filed a declaration of intention and informs such persons of the location of the nearest school and urges them to attend.

4. It endeavors to reach those who have not yet filed a declaration, many of whom have children in the public schools and can be traced in this way.

There are now thirty-two night schools in Chicago giving citizenship instruction. Mr. Crist urged that these schools be kept open for the entire year as in Los Angeles and Cincinnati.

The City Club office is in need of duplicate copies of the sixth, seventh and ninth year books of the City Club. Any member who has any of these year books will confer a favor by turning them in to the office.

Karl Mitchell, city manager of Sherman, Texas, and J. W. Hassel, mayor of that city, have resigned. Mr. Mitchell was formerly city manager for River Forest and is a non-resident member of the City Club of Chicago.

The first Committee Field Day in the history of the Club was held in the main dining room, Saturday noon, March 4, with an attendance of over 200 committee members. The program consisted of a series of crisp three-minute reports by the chairmen on the activities of their committees. It is proposed to hold another such meet in the near future at which the Civic Secretary will review and comment upon the work of the committees.

Mr. Harris C. Lutkin has been appointed chairman of the City Club Com-

mittee on Civil Service to succeed Mr. Joseph C. Mason, who has resigned.

The Short Ballot Committee of the City Club has been discontinued. Its work will be carried on by the Government Committee through its sub-committee on Suffrage and Elections.

Mr. E. H. Bennett, architect for the Chicago Plan Commission, addressed the committees co-operating in the study of the North Side on Tuesday, March 14, on the subject of Chicago's street layout.

Clifford W. Barnes has been appointed chairman of the "Chicago Community Trust," recently organized to receive gifts and bequests and administer the income for charitable or other community purposes. A similar trust in Cleveland, Ohio, known as the Cleveland Foundation, is said to have \$30,000,000 already in its treasury, although only two years old. Allen T. Burns, a former member of the Chicago City Club, is director of this foundation. Other organizations of the same type exist in Houston, Los Angeles, St. Louis and Spokane.

"State constitutions," said Prof. Henry Schofield of Northwestern University, speaking before the Government Committee on February 18th, "operate as a limit upon legislative powers—the longer and more detailed the constitution the greater the limitation. The recent tendency toward long constitutions indicates a popular distrust of the legislature and a tendency to rely upon the courts as a protection against the abuse of power by the legislature. The constitutions before 1870 were very short and the legislatures much freer in their action than those of today, and there now seems to be a reaction in favor of greater powers for the legislature.

"The more the functions of the legislature are limited by long constitutions, the more important it is that the process of amendment should be easy. If amendment is easy, there is really very little danger in a long constitution. If not, the constitution should be shortened and the legislature given much more power than at present."

## UNIFIED TRANSPORTATION FOR CHICAGO

Two experts speaking at the City Club recently made a diagnosis of Chicago's transportation troubles, and for once the doctors agreed. They said that the different parts of Chicago's transportation system are not working together as they should. It is just as if each part of the human body had a little circulation system of its own unrelated to every other part. The only remedy, they said, is to hook up the surface lines, the elevated lines, the subway, if there is to be one, and—if it can be done—the railways, into one circulation system for the whole city.

This discussion took place before the City Planning Committee and the eleven other committees of the City Club which are co-operating in a study of the North Side. There were two meetings, February 1 and 8, and the speakers were Walter L. Fisher, former special traction counsel for the city, and at present a member of the Chicago Railway Terminal Commission, and H. H. Evans, secretary of the City Council Committee on Local Transportation.

Mr. Fisher at the meeting of February 1 said in substance:

*Walter L. Fisher*

"The transportation problem in Chicago is essentially a unit and must be considered as a whole in any plans for improvement. Transportation studies heretofore unfortunately have been compelled to deal with particular parts of the problem and not with these parts in relation to each other. The ordinance just passed by the City Council creating a commission to study the local transportation situation has very wisely remedied this omission, providing for a related study of all the elements of the problem—surface, elevated and subway. Steam transportation was not specifically included among the matters to be dealt with by the commission but it can hardly do a thorough piece of work and ignore this part of the problem.

"In studying the subway question, for instance, it should first be determined whether subways are really necessary. The suggestion has been made that a more intensive use of railroad properties for local transportation purposes on

a through route plan would make subway construction unnecessary, or would reduce the amount and materially affect the character and location of subway construction. The Illinois Central Railroad does a large business of this sort now, but it ought to be operating electrically and hooked up with other transportation agencies. The South Side has only two main arteries to the central business district, Wabash Avenue and State Street, and all transportation lines except the Illinois Central are converged into these two streets. If the Illinois Central right-of-way could be used to a greater extent for this sort of service the transportation facilities to the South Side could be doubled. Elevated trains, for instance, could be connected with the Illinois Central and run over its right-of-way into the center of the city.

"It is probable that a certain amount of subway construction will be necessary in Chicago. A comprehensive subway with lines radiating like spokes into every section of the city is, of course, impossible. It could never be made to pay. Assuming, however, that we need some sort of a subway, we cannot and should not try to determine what kind of a subway or how much should be built until we have considered the whole problem of transportation comprehensively—steam, elevated and surface lines and possibly subways together.

"There is a group of people in Chicago who have made up their minds that there is no possible use for a subway. They think of the problem in terms of 'loop' and 'anti-loop' and believe that subway sentiment is promoted only by the department stores as a business proposition. They apparently fail to understand that some activities are carried on better at the center of population (offices, banks, etc.), and that it ought to be made easy and cheap for this reason to get to this central district. Certain activities on the other hand, it is true, have no place there and simply add to the congestion, but the problem is to determine which businesses belong in the center of the city and which do not, and to encourage the latter to move out.

"The freight terminals, grouped like

an iron band around the heart of the city and exchanging freight, not even intended for Chicago consumption, through our busy downtown streets, ought to be moved to some point on the outskirts of the city. There it could be handled on a basis of co-operation among the roads at a great saving of money and with greatly increased efficiency. It is quite unbusinesslike to handle freight on expensive downtown property, adding an enormous interest charge to every ton handled, but on the other hand it is absolutely essential that passenger facilities be provided in the central district.

"The freight problem is much more difficult than the passenger problem, but neither can be solved without reference to the other. To illustrate, the Illinois Central claims that with its widened right-of-way it can furnish, in its proposed new station, passenger facilities for all the railroads in Chicago except the Northwestern and the roads entering the Union Station. One of the railroads which has considered coming into this arrangement has proposed that the main passenger station be at Randolph Street. This would, of course, require that some, at least, of the freight now handled at this point be handled somewhere else. It also raises the question whether the congestion would be greater or less if a passenger station were substituted at this point for a freight station and whether the city should permit passenger service to Randolph Street unless it were electrified. These points illustrate how interdependent are the freight and passenger problems in Chicago.

"The through-route idea is fundamental to a solution of the transportation question, not only as to surface and elevated lines, but to steam lines as well.

"There is a limit beyond which fast means of transportation can not be extended and for this reason it is essential that surface lines be used as feeders. We cannot, of course, build elevated railroads so that they will reach every corner of the city. Only a few main arteries can be built. In Boston, people prefer to wait for a car that will bring them within a short distance of home; they will sacrifice time to save distance. In Chicago, on the other hand, we will walk long distances to get the faster trans-

portation. We ought, however, to be able to take a street car for a short distance and transfer to an elevated line. The connection of these two systems of transportation would be of great convenience to everybody, and in my judgment would prove profitable to the transportation companies if done on terms fair to them as well as to the public."

H. H. Evans, Secretary of the City Council Committee on Local Transportation, spoke on February 8. He said in part:

### *Herbert H. Evans*

"For many years it has been conceded by transportation experts that the solution of Chicago's local transportation problem lies chiefly in the consolidation of surface and elevated railway lines into one operating system, so as to bring each branch of the service to its highest efficiency, using elevated lines for long distance travel and surface lines as feeders. The elevated lines at present are not paying investments, largely because they do not get enough gross business and because their traffic load is too unevenly distributed throughout the day. The traffic load of the street car lines is more evenly distributed. The difficulty which the surface lines have, on the other hand, is the long haul. The electrification of local transportation lines has been accompanied by a tendency on the part of people to move further from the center of town and while this is very desirable from the point of view of the public, it has put a heavy burden on the surface lines by requiring them to carry long haul business for which they are not fitted. If, by combining the two systems into one operating unit, the unremunerative long haul traffic can be taken from the surface lines and given to the elevated roads which need it, both systems would be helped financially and the traveling public would get better and quicker service.

"If the elevated lines were relieved of their short haul traffic their usefulness as rapid transit lines would be greatly increased. The stations on the elevated in order to accommodate this short haul traffic are often located too close together. In the better settled parts of the city, a half-mile walk to the ele-

vated—and farther out, even three-quarters of a mile—is none too much. Stations at frequent intervals may shorten the walk, but they slow up the service and impair the rapid transit character of the elevated lines. These lines ought to be reserved entirely for long haul express business.

“Extensions of the elevated roads will be needed at certain points, other roads will need to be converted into three and four-track roads, and some of the existing lines ought to be connected. There is a growing objection, however, to the placing of elevated structures on the streets, and it may be necessary, therefore, to build such lines as are needed on private rights-of-way. Under such circumstances the cost of a new elevated line might even exceed that of a subway, and economy might require building the line as a subway.

“A downtown subway may also be necessary. The building of a subway across the loop district would cut down the time cars would be in the district, and so increase operating efficiency. Even if a subway could not pay interest charges, it might be necessary to build one to handle the traffic.

“The use of the steam railroads is another possible means of relieving the local transportation situation. In the populated parts of the city, the railroads are built on embankments and are thus equipped to give a high speed service. Converted to electrical operation, they would be able to furnish a fast, frequent, long-haul service at much less cost than new subway or elevated lines requiring large new investments. Three two-car electric trains can be run at almost the same expense as one six-car train, so electrification would mean that three times as frequent service could be given.

“The ultimate solution of the transportation problem in Chicago is a co-ordination of the surface, elevated and steam railroads. People are, of course, not willing to spend more than a certain amount of time in getting from their homes to their work, and while, in the past, surface cars have been relied on to bring people downtown—and for that reason there has been a tendency to develop lines of travel north and south on

the North and South Sides, and east and west on the West Side—the tendency will be, as the population spreads farther into the outskirts, to construct crosstown lines, which will be perpendicular to and serve as feeders to the fast elevated or steam railway lines downtown. This will require some plan of co-ordination between these different systems. In Buenos Ayres passengers may come into town by steam railway, transfer to subway and later to surface car to reach their destinations.

“The street question is intimately connected with the transportation problem in Chicago. The streets must be broad enough to care for the traffic which they will receive and must be uninterrupted—at least where the main traffic is. The diagonal streets are short cuts to the city and should be kept open at all costs. It is essential also that the section and half-section line streets be kept open for general traffic. To reserve such streets as boulevards for a special class of amusement travel is pernicious. Section and half-section line streets, if kept open to general traffic, tend to become the business avenues of the city, and car lines, which naturally follow streets having a business development, tend to locate there. This half-mile interval between main traffic streets is a very convenient one as it places the tributary population within easy walking distance of transportation lines and trade. This population is also just about sufficient to furnish the traffic necessary to support the car lines adjacent to it. It is extremely important, therefore, that these streets should be reserved for traffic and as the avenues for street car transportation.

“The streets should be so built as to allow a reasonable amount of widening, should this be necessary. The street space up to an established building line, ought to be impounded by the community for this purpose. This impounding might be progressive back of the present lines at, say, fifty year intervals. Buenos Ayres, whose typical streets in the past have been only 33 feet wide, making possible only one way travel, has in later years adopted this policy and is already beginning to widen some of its streets.”

## INTERNATIONALISM AND WORLD PEACE

"Nationalism can afford no lasting basis for the peace of the world, and any settlement which fails to recognize this fact will only be the cause of more and greater wars in the future," said Francis Neilson, member of the British Parliament, in an address at the City Club, Wednesday, February 9. "If the settlement," he said, "is to afford any prospect of permanent peace, it must recognize internationalism as a fundamental principle and must tend at least toward the ultimate breaking down of frontiers." Mr. Neilson is the leader of the "land-values group" in the House of Commons and is prominent in radical democratic movements in England. He is widely known in literary and dramatic circles as a successful playwright. Continuing his address he said:

"To talk of internationalism while the war grows more and more bitter and complicated, and while the almost unanimous sentiment of each belligerent nation demands an overwhelming military victory, requires some temerity. But it is necessary for us, in the midst of all this to lift our eyes for a while from the trenches, forget the daily stories of the progress of the war and try to understand the future, to vision what Europe will be when the great struggle is over. Never in history has there been a time when it was more important for men to meditate deeply on what the future holds.

"Those who think that a treaty along national lines, made at the end of this war by the statesmen who have controlled European politics in the past, will insure a lasting peace, can know little or nothing, I think, of the treaties which have been made and broken by the nations of Europe since the days of Napoleon. Treaties are ephemeral things and are lightly regarded when national policies change—and these in Europe have been notoriously unstable. Based on national prejudices and concerned with national frontiers, treaties are a poor guarantee for the peace of the world.

"What has been the outcome of all the centuries of fighting back and forth across Europe to change national frontiers? A map of ancient Greece and

the Balkans is not substantially different from the map of today. In what way has humanity benefited from the turmoil and bloodshed which has taken place to move the boundaries of these countries back and forth? In what way has happiness been increased?

"At the beginning of the war, internationalism was coming to be recognized as a great world force. There was closer contact between the peoples of the world, a better understanding and a finer sympathy, than had ever been the case in the history of the world before. The effort to do away with war and its inevitable accompaniments of murder, lust and pillage, was making great headway, and the establishment of economic freedom between the nations, which would go far to remove the causes of war, was a growing possibility.

"Has this fine impulse for internationalism been wiped out by the great world-war? Has it been crushed out by the tide of national patriotic sentiment? I think not. I believe that a great spiritual revolution is going on in the trenches, and that at the close of the war when the men return to their homes, they will demand that nothing of this sort shall happen again. And the only way in which they can prevent it is to bring about a peace based on internationalism.

"Consider the difficulties of a national settlement. A settlement along national lines is perhaps easy enough in the West, for it means merely the evacuation of Belgium and France, but what is to be the national settlement for Poland, for Finland, for Ukraine and the Balkans—particularly the Balkans? And what about Persia, and Egypt, and India? The problems in each of these cases are so involved, so difficult, that I see no hope for a national settlement. And furthermore I do not see what good it would be if we got it. It would mean simply new tariff wars, new navies, new armies—and we would be no nearer to lasting peace than before this war began.

"We must sooner or later break down the frontiers, we must have done with tariffs, for to these is chiefly due that pernicious system of foreign commercial concessions, supported by diplomacy, for the exploiting of the resources and in-

dustries of weak, undeveloped countries. These foreign concessions have been perhaps the chief stake in the diplomatic struggle between the nations of Europe and a prime cause of international jealousy and war. The settlement must break down these tariff barriers and establish economic freedom, if not all at one time, ultimately. It must be international in tendency. That it can be completely international in fact, to begin with, is perhaps beyond hope.

"When economic freedom is established, production will be stimulated throughout the world, a great increase

of leisure and happiness among the people will result, autocratic governments will lose their hold on the people and the establishment of political freedom will be brought about. Men will think in terms of men and not in terms of nations and boundaries. My hope for internationalism is born out of the spiritual revolution which I believe is going on at the front. What message will the men bring home from the trenches? I believe it will be one of internationalism and world brotherhood. And is it too much to hope that the 'United States of Europe' will be the result?"

## RED CROSS "PREPAREDNESS"

"The humanitarian arm of the United States Government, and a form of accident insurance for the nation," were terms applied to the American Red Cross, by John J. O'Connor, secretary of the Chicago chapter of that organization, in an address at the City Club, Thursday, February 17. The President of the United States is the presiding officer of the Red Cross, its accounts are audited by the War Department, and it is by law the only organization that can officially aid the army and navy in time of war. It was organized at first for war relief only, but its charter was extended in 1905 to permit activities in connection with disasters of peace—fire, floods, earthquakes, mine disasters, and so forth. These activities are now among the most important features of Red Cross work.

Mr. O'Connor said in part:

"In building up an army and navy to meet the exigencies of a possible future war, we should not forget one of the most important branches of the service, the Red Cross. The means of caring for the sick and wounded is one item of a rounded 'preparedness' that we should not overlook. The American Red Cross has expended about \$2,000,000 in war relief in Europe. It has furnished 300 surgeons and nurses and great quantities of supplies, including fifteen tons of anæsthetics, which have been sent to the warring nations. This seems like a large amount until it is remembered that the estimated daily cost of the war is \$60,000,000. When this fact is re-

membered, the charge that our assistance helps to prolong the war is seen to be absurd.

"War relief constitutes only one branch of our activities. Since our charter was amended to permit it, we have expended about \$15,000,000 for relief in connection with over 80 great disasters in the last ten years. We have tried to furnish this relief in a scientific way, not simply to give 'hand-outs' of money or supplies irrespective of the needs. After the Eastland disaster we distributed a fund of about a half million dollars. Instead of distributing this money equally, which would have been the easiest and the very worst course, we took into consideration matters of income, number and age of children, and similar facts indicating the actual needs of the families we were dealing with. In this way we avoided payment to persons not in distress, and were better able to care for the needy. I believe this has worked out substantial justice, for we have not had a word of criticism about the distribution of the money. About \$100,000 of this relief money has, to our knowledge, been banked and is being drawn upon gradually instead of being dissipated all at once. Our distribution of this fund illustrates the need for a skilled administration of Red Cross relief.

"The American Red Cross is the only organization in the country which is extending visiting nursing into rural districts. It is co-operating with local public and private institutions and organiza-

tions in building up the health of communities. The records of charity organizations show that illness is an important factor in about seventy-five per cent of their cases in need. Only thoroughly reliable, graduate nurses, with special qualifications, are used in this work. Its importance in the mountain districts of Kentucky and other states, and in the mining districts of your own state, can easily be seen.

"Last year there were 80,000 deaths in the United States from preventable accidents. The 'first aid' department of the American Red Cross has three instruction cars on the railroads, teaching men in the railroad camps and elsewhere the methods of 'first aid.' We keep the names of the men who have been thus trained, as the nucleus of a useful Red Cross corps in time of war. We are also giving 'first aid' instruction to women; five or six hundred in Chicago are receiving this instruction now. These women will be able to furnish efficient hospital service as 'nurses' aids' in case of war.

"The money received from Red Cross Christmas seals is devoted entirely to tuberculosis work, being turned over 'in toto' to tuberculosis societies all over the country. More than \$3,000,000 has been obtained for this work from this source.

"The American Red Cross is unfortunately weak in membership. Unlike Japan with its two million members, Germany with its one million or Canada with its 650,000, the American Red Cross has only 25,000 members. Furthermore this membership has been largely recruited from the east and financial support has, for the most part, come from that part of the country. The organization, however, now perceives the necessity of a broad democratic basis, and a national campaign is in swing throughout the country to secure one million members.

"The government of China recently offered the American Red Cross Society thirty million dollars to build locks on the Huai River to control the water flow and prevent floods. For at least 2,500 years the floods of this river, covering the agricultural lands, which are the granary of China, and destroying the

crops, have been responsible for most of the famines of China. The Chinese have been inured to it, have considered it as a matter of fate, and have done nothing to relieve the situation. The American Red Cross sent an engineer to study the possibility of controlling the flow of this river and on his report an American commission, paid by China, with Brigadier General Libert, who built the Gatun locks and dams, made a further study and recommended a plan to accomplish this purpose. The carrying out of this plan would cost about thirty million dollars, but it is estimated that the project would pay for itself in five years, owing to the improvement in navigation, the reclamation of flooded lands, and the saving of crops—not to mention the prevention of famine and loss of thousands of lives. In one famine camp alone there were said to be 500,000 people, most emaciated. The Chinese Government has offered the American Red Cross this amount to carry out the project, and it is likely that after the war, if the State Department approves, we will undertake the direction of this work."

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The Club library has subscribed to the publications of the School Survey Committee of the Cleveland Foundation. These publications consist of a series of special reports by experts, dealing with various aspects of the public school work in Cleveland. Those already received in the City Club library are "Health Work in the Public Schools," "What the Schools Teach," "Child Accounting in the Public Schools," "Financing the Public School," "Education Through Recreation," "Educational Extension," "School Buildings and Equipment," "Measuring the Work of the Public School," "Department Store Occupations," "Schools and Classes for Exceptional Children," "Overcrowded Schools and the Platoon Plan," "Railroad and Street Transportation," "Boys and Girls in Commercial Work."

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The Massachusetts Committee on Unemployment has proposed an act for unemployment insurance in that state. The draft of the act is in the City Club library.



## “SHALL PRIVILEGE OR POVERTY BE TAXED?”

There has been much talk of “preparedness for war” these days and talk also of preparedness for peace, but not so much discussion as to who will pay for this “preparedness” if we undertake it. A “National Association for an Equitable Income Tax” has been formed which says that the burden should fall largely on wealth and privilege through the imposing of a rapidly progressive income tax by the national government. The association includes on its executive committee such prominent men as John Dewey, Frederic C. Howe and Amos Pinchot. Its secretary is Benjamin C. Marsh, secretary of the New York Committee on Congestion of Population, organizer of the National City Planning Conference, and a leading advocate in the recent effort to revise the taxation laws of New York by reducing the taxation on improvements, leaving the burden on land. Mr. Marsh spoke before the City Club on January 29 on the subject, “Shall Privilege or Poverty Be Taxed?” He said in part:

“One of the striking conditions in America is the concentration of income and ownership. In 1914, 7,509 people in the United States received about one-twentieth of the total national income, and 357,515 people—less than one-half of one per cent of the total population—received an aggregate income of about four billions of dollars, one-fifth of the total national income. One or two per cent of the city’s population own the major part of the value of land in large cities.\*

“In 1910, nearly one-fifth of the acreage of farm lands was held in tracts of one thousand acres or more, while over one-third of the farms were less than fifty acres. Less than three per cent of the population own nearly all the value of farm land and nearly all the acreage. The same concentration holds true of the

ownership of timber lands, transportation facilities and mineral wealth.†

“These facts are not arguments for confiscation or depredation but do constitute a challenge to honesty in taxation and common sense in evolving an honest tax system. Our governmental revenue amounting to nearly three billion dollars a year—local, state and federal—is raised on the assumption that the phrase in the Scriptures, ‘To him that hath shall be given and from him that hath not shall be taken even that which he seemeth to have’ was intended as an ethical precept, instead of an indictment of economic conditions. Three-quarters of the cost of government in the country—federal, state, county and local—is secured by indirect, shiftable taxes, chiefly borne by the workers, regardless of benefit conferred by government expenditures or ability to pay.

“Land, incomes and inheritances should bear the bulk of permanent taxes. A distinction must be made, however, between the proper methods of securing revenues for local, state and national purposes. The multi-millionaires of New York City, so they may have a plausible argument against a heavy increase in the Federal tax on big incomes, are trying to have an income tax levied for state and local purposes, with uniform rates on the \$1,500 earned by the small man and the \$1,000,000 income from secure investments. Senator Mills, Chairman of the New York State Legislative Commission on Taxation—himself worth many millions—advocates such a state tax. He says that states must adopt the income tax before the Federal government ‘dries up’ this tax as a source of revenue. He favors heavier taxes on the workers, though many workers pay nearly a fifth of their incomes in indirect taxes now.

“There is not the slightest foundation in equity or necessity for an income tax for either state or local purposes. The

\*In 1914, according to Mr. Marsh, the full assessed value of land in Chicago was \$1,187,733,334. The sites of three buildings in the center of the city were worth \$17,360,695, or about one-sixty-eighth of the total value of land, while one hundred and five sites in the loop district were worth \$174,578,748, or about one-seventh of the total value of hundreds of thousands of parcels in Chicago.

† Mr. Marsh states that Commissioner Davies of the late Bureau of Corporations reported in 1914 that 1,694 timber owners hold in fee over one-twentieth of the land area of the United States, from the Canadian to the Mexican borders—a total of 105,600,000 acres—while sixteen holders own nearly half of this, or 47,800,000 acres.

possessors of great fortunes are located in a few states, but the fortunes are drawn from every state in the country, and a national income tax rapidly and heavily progressive is the proper major source of revenue for the Federal Government. Every dollar raised by a state income tax would mean just so much less revenue from this source for the Federal Government, and would thus make necessary heavier taxes upon the shelter, clothes and food of the workers. Land and inheritances are proper objects of taxation for local and state governments. The inheritance tax can without any injustice yield several times as much as at present, sufficient to meet all reasonable and necessary increases in the cost of state governments in most states, while a small part of the tax upon land values would meet any deficit in every state. A very small super-tax on the nearly \$1,250,000,000 of land values in Chicago would meet any increase in the city budget.

"Within a few years at most, even if no large expenditures are made for preparedness or defense, the national expenditures will probably be about \$900,000,000.

"At least \$200,000,000 more revenue than the Federal Government received in 1915—\$697,910,827—must be secured; and if the most conservative plan of 'preparedness' be put through, this additional sum must come, either from the consuming public, through indirect taxes, the most expensive method, bearing most heavily on those least able to bear it, or through the income tax, unless the objects of taxation, now reserved for states and localities, be taken by the Federal Government—which would in most states result in further tax burdens upon the workers. The most important thing the farmers, wage-earners and small-salaried men of the country can do is to compel Congress to increase the tax rate on the large incomes very heavily at once.

"The Secretary of the Treasury estimates that in 1917 there will be a deficit of about \$250,000,000. The Association for an Equitable Federal Income Tax is, therefore, urging the President and Congress to secure at least \$300,000,000 by a rapidly progressive income tax which will take at least twenty per cent of the

taxable incomes of those receiving one million dollars a year or over and the abolition of present emergency war taxes and the reduction of taxes upon the cheaper grades of commodities which the working classes must have. In England incomes in excess of \$500,000 are taxed 34 per cent.

"The memorial urging the rapidly progressive income tax for the Federal Government has been endorsed by Masters of State Granges, prominent labor leaders, scores of economists, like Professors Seager, Giddings and Beard of Columbia, and Ross of the University of Wisconsin. It is the part of sound common sense, as well as justice, to aim at equality in taxation, and this is the purpose of the Association in urging this rapidly progressive income tax for the Federal Government, and the heavier taxation of land values for state and local purposes."

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Referring to the proposal for a state income tax in New York, the New York Tax Reform Association in a recent report states the following objections to a state income tax:

"The income tax is already used by the federal government and with the great additional demands for federal revenue will undoubtedly be extended in the near future so as to reach smaller incomes than those now taxed, and to obtain more revenue from large incomes. An income tax can be administered better by the federal government than a state, because of its broader jurisdiction. A state income tax affords more opportunities for evasion, or locating outside of the taxing jurisdiction. With the great diversity of investments and the preponderance of interstate business, it is hard to determine what part of an income is taxable by the state in which the taxpayer lives or the taxable business is conducted.

"The present tax laws of New York attract many wealthy residents from other states, and thereby enhance the value of residential and business real estate. To the extent that a state income tax retards the tendency of wealth and capital to come here, real estate and business must suffer."

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A recent summary by the U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics of workingman's compensation legislation enacted by various states in 1914 and 1915, shows that there are now thirty-one states, not counting colonies and foreign possessions, having laws of this class.

## AN INTERNATIONAL POLICE FORCE

The plan, backed by ex-President Taft, President Lowell of Harvard and others, for a league of nations to enforce peace, was criticized as inadequate by Oscar T. Crosby of Washington, D. C., in an address on "Preparedness and Peace," at the City Club Saturday, February 19th. Mr. Crosby is responsible for a bill recently presented to Congress by Senator Shafroth pledging the support of the nation to a movement for an international court backed by force. He recently returned from Belgium, where he was engaged in relief work.

"The plan to insure peace," said Mr. Crosby, "by a league of nations, each of which will agree to use all its commercial and military force against any nation which is guilty of a hostile act before submitting its case in any dispute to arbitration, will not work. We have had debates for a thousand years as to what constitutes an act of hostility. Each of fifty sovereignties in the world today would make its separate judgment as to whether a hostile act had been committed and in the end they would be found divided into separate camps and fighting out the issues among themselves, just as they have always done."

He suggested, as the only alternative to competitive armaments, the establishment of a tribunal having authority to determine all international disputes submitted to it, and to prevent any nation from making war upon another, the establishment of an international army and navy to enforce the orders of this tribunal and the abolition of existing armies and navies, except so far as necessary by the preservation of internal order. He said in part:

"We talk about preparedness. What are we preparing for? We are, I should say, preparing to defend certain political principles and interests of this nation. We have a happy hypocrisy by which we translate our interests in international politics into abstract general rights which we expect the world to recognize. It is hard to know what this abstract righteousness is, for all nations in war believe they are battling for a righteous cause. We can only say that we are preparing to enforce our own views upon the world and defend our

interests. We have announced certain policies as to our interests in the American continent, China, the Philippines, and so on. So far as these policies are to have any expression, we must be prepared to back them up by force if necessary. We cannot enter upon world politics and prepare armaments on a purely defensive basis.

"Armaments, therefore, rest upon national policies, and the only possible way to get a reasonable scheme of preparedness is to study the question in connection with the international political layout. If the relation of the American government to the international political situation is to be one thing, one type of preparedness will be needed; if another thing, some other plan will have to be adopted.

"The plan should be worked out by a single board so as to avoid the conflict in aims and ideas which now prevails between the different departments of the administration and the different committees of Congress. We should take plenty of time, as there is danger of going too fast and far with an inadequately worked out scheme. The board should, I think, be composed of an army man, a navy man and a civilian.

"Forty years ago, if we had been in Arizona, we would have carried pistols in our belts. The 'Arizona Jims' and 'Texas Bills' of those days were laws to themselves, just as the nations of the world are today. Not until the constable, representing civilization, representing centralized power and authority as against individual violence, could exert sufficient force to dominate this lawless element, were peace and order secured.

"This is the clue to the settlement of our international difficulties. We must substitute centralized power for competitive armaments. The Hague Court was a lady-like affair to which nobody paid any attention, simply because it had no force behind it.

"It is not to be expected that an international court with force behind it will guarantee justice in detail; that is not true even of our national governments. There may be civil wars or a revolution against this central power, just as in the

case of a national government, but such a court will tend to reduce this sporadic violence to its lowest terms. The court must to the fullest extent possible preserve peace and order, so that the great social and industrial problems, which, after all, are those of greatest importance to the world, may be worked out with reasonable security.

"Competitive armaments are our only mechanisms at present for national defense, and I am for them if there is no central armed power to guarantee peace. But if we continue under the present system we will be forced to build such an army as has never been dreamed of. It will dwarf all that ever has been seen before. And what would be the good of simply making ourselves, in this way, a terror to the world? As we increase our armaments we will bend still lower the backs of those who are already bowed down with the weight of poverty.

What we must do is to pledge the nation, through Congress, to a plan for an international tribunal that will have sufficient force behind it to guarantee peace and order to the world. A bill for this purpose has been introduced in Congress by Senator Shafroth of Colorado. What we are trying to do is to secure simultaneous consideration by responsible powers of identical propositions for the establishment of an international tribunal. No plan of this sort, of course, can be made to work unless enough of the great powers will co-operate to provide an overwhelming preponderance of power. It would be obviously foolish to attempt any such arrangement without sufficient power behind it. But if this plan fails and competitive armaments continue to be the decisive factors in world politics, it would be folly for us as a nation to measure down our strength to the weakness of other nations."

The U. S. Census Bureau has issued the following interesting figures in regard to methods of regulating the liquor traffic in cities of 30,000 or over:

Prohibition by state law prevails in 17 cities of 30,000 and over. Municipal prohibition is in effect in 15 such cities. County prohibition has closed the saloons in 2 Michigan cities and parish prohibition has closed them in 1 Louisiana city. There are thus 35 cities in which total prohibition prevails. In addition, there are 8 in which partial prohibition is in effect through the operation of what is known as the "district" system, under which certain districts or sections of the city may, by popular vote, abolish their saloons, while other sections retain them.

The largest city which has adopted prohibition independently of state or county action is Cambridge, Mass., whose population is about 110,000. The largest city in which the saloons have been closed by state enactment is Atlanta, Ga., with approximately 180,000 inhabitants.

In 124 of the 169 cities in which saloons are licensed, they are limited as to number, and in 91 as to location; and in 28 there are no restrictions as to either number or location. In some cities the

limitation as to number is definitely stated; in others it takes the form of a provision to the effect that the number of saloons shall not exceed 1 to every 250, 500, 750, 1,000 or 3,000 inhabitants.

The limitation as to location takes a variety of forms, among which the most common is the provision that no saloon shall be allowed within a certain distance, usually 200, 300, or 400 feet, of a church or school.

There are 10 cities—Hoboken, Newark, Passaic, and Paterson, N. J.; Philadelphia, Wilkes-Barre, Allentown, and York, Pa.; New Orleans, and Milwaukee—in which the bar rooms are open during the entire 24 hours of the day.

The licensing of certain saloons to sell malt liquors only is practiced in 15 cities—Boston, New Orleans, 5 cities in Connecticut, and 8 in Texas—in which the aggregate number of saloons thus licensed is 875.

The Short Ballot Bulletin for February, 1916, contains a list, corrected to February, 1916, of 38 cities having the commissioner-manager plan of city government. Dayton, with a population of 116,000, is the largest.

## MEN OF THE HOUR IN ENGLAND

Mr. S. K. Ratcliffe, Honorary Secretary of the London Sociological Society, and a journalist associated with the London Daily News and the Manchester Guardian, spoke at the Chicago City Club Thursday, February 24, on "Men of the Hour in England." He sketched rapidly for his hearers the great personalities of English politics.

Mr. Ratcliffe, in introducing the subject, called attention to some of the interesting differences of political practice in England and America touching the position of public men. He said: "In England all members of the Government sit in Parliament. They must expound and defend their legislative measures and be prepared at any moment to stand up to attacks upon the departments they direct, and they can only hold their places so long as they command the support of the majority in the House of Commons and the country. Again, there is the difference implied in the English system of the regular parliamentary opposition. When a government goes out of office its members in the ordinary course of things take their places on the opposition benches in the House of Commons and prepare to attack the new government, with the aim of turning it out and replacing it with their own men. Hence the 'outs' as well as the 'ins' have opportunities of continuous parliamentary practice, and it is always possible to name in advance at least a dozen of the men who in the event of a change of government would have offices in the next cabinet.

"When the war broke out the Liberal Government had been in power for nearly nine years and Mr. Asquith had been Prime Minister since 1908. The cabinet was strong in individual ability and in collective experience. By common consent it was a far abler body than the group of Conservatives who, fifteen years before, had undertaken the South African war. Mr. Asquith, moreover, was in a position of unexampled strength, for he had received in advance assurances from the Conservative leaders of cordial support in the war policy from the opposition. Accordingly, the Liberal cabinet conducted the war during the first nine months without having to

fight the regular party opposition, though this did not mean that it was free from attack—far from it. Meanwhile there was a growing demand for a National Government—the argument being that the war was too vast and momentous a task to be entrusted to a cabinet representing only one party in the state. Reluctantly, by force of circumstances which he could not control, the Prime Minister reconstructed his cabinet last June, about half the offices being filled by leading Conservatives. The change was not regarded as satisfactory by the members of any party; but it was recognized that the coalition government, made up of Liberals, Radicals, Conservatives and labor men, stood as an impressive proof of the unity of England. For the first time in the history of modern England all political differences had been sunk and the regular parliamentary opposition had ceased to exist.

"Many of those who had worked for the overthrow of the Liberal Cabinet made no secret of their wish to dethrone the Prime Minister; but the event showed that Mr. Asquith could not at that time be replaced. His parliamentary experience and skill are unrivalled. He commands the House of Commons as no statesman has done since Peel or Pitt, and he is the greatest master England has had of the difficult art of driving a cabinet team. The country trusts him; and he has a gift of compressed and massive speech which enables him on almost every occasion to express the mind of England more completely than any other statesman can do; witness his declaration, repeated this week, of the aims for which England, in common with her allies, is fighting. Mr. Asquith's enemies say that he is slow to decide and to act; that he has an incurable habit of refusing to look beyond the next step, and that his maxim is 'wait and see.' There is a measure of truth in this judgment; but the fact remains that Mr. Asquith is by far the best available Prime Minister, and that in every emergency hitherto he has come out master of the situation. His strength is that no other statesman commands so many of the national elements, and that any

alternative Prime Minister would almost certainly divide instead of uniting the nation.

"As head of the Coalition Government, Mr. Asquith has had a task even more difficult than that which fell to him as a Liberal Prime Minister. The cabinet has been from the first gravely divided on the conscription issue, and in consequence its history since last June has been a history of recurrent crises, each one, apparently, bringing a more acute situation than the last. The advocates of conscription have won; but they have gained only a qualified victory. The Government has been saved and the unity of the nation preserved, and the result is unmistakably due to the adroitness with which Mr. Asquith has handled the manoeuvres in the later stages; although, on the other hand, it could be maintained that firmer handling last year would have secured a thorough defeat of the party of compulsion. The fact that altogether six millions of men have either joined the colors or enrolled themselves as ready to come up when called upon is overwhelming proof that the voluntary system was equal to all possible demands upon it.

"A similar estimate to the one framed of Mr. Asquith might perhaps have been formed, down to a few months ago, of Sir Edward Grey, who for more than ten years has been at the head of the British Foreign office. But Sir Edward Grey, formerly more secure from attack than any of his colleagues, has during the past few months been mercilessly assailed in a section of the press—ostensibly on account of the failure of British diplomacy in the Balkans, but actually there can be no doubt, for reasons directly connected with the conscription controversy and the use of British naval power in the blockade of Germany. This power he has steadily refused to use, as some have urged, in complete defiance of the neutrals. The foreign secretary has felt the strain of the war more than any of the national leaders, and his health has been seriously impaired. He could not today be named, as formerly he would have been, for the first place in the Government in the event of a change.

"Lord Kitchener's position is one of great interest. His appointment as War

Secretary was made in response to a press demand, and it is well known that the very newspapers which called him to the war office in August, 1914, would have had him dismissed and disgraced in the spring of 1915. The attack was a conspicuous failure. Lord Kitchener's position was unimpaired. It is possible that he may be on the eve of a new appointment. If so, the change will be natural and proper. He has completed his task at home—the creation of the new army. There is work for him in the East, which he of all men is most fitted to do.

"There remains Mr. Lloyd George, whose later development is by far the most interesting and the most important personal factor in the affairs of Britain today. His direction of the Munitions Department has changed Mr. Lloyd George's position entirely. Perhaps the briefest and most telling way of indicating the nature of the change would be to say that it has with curious exactness followed the course marked out by Joseph Chamberlain a generation ago; and that if Lloyd George should get his chance of the Premiership it would come to him as the nominee, not of the Liberals and Radicals, but of the Conservatives and Imperialists and the party which is committed to protective tariffs. The change in his policy and attitude has not come about entirely since the war. Careful students of his career found indications of it when he was piloting through the House of Commons the important measure of national insurance against sickness and unemployment, a measure which was essentially German in its inspiration. At the outbreak of war, however, Lloyd George occupied a wonderful position. He had not then lost the support of the Radicals, and he had largely through his measures for securing the credit system of the country gained the enthusiastic admiration of those classes which had formerly denounced him as an enemy of England and the most dangerous politician in the empire: Nothing was more remarkable than the spectacle of the City of London, the stronghold of his enemies, acclaiming Lloyd George as the saviour of Britain. A year ago he not only declared himself a conscriptionist, but called for martial law in the workshops, and this he has

in no small degree secured by means of the Munitions Act, which controls the entire product of war material. It is possible that time may vindicate Lloyd George and that he may be proved to have been the most far-seeing, as he has been the most energetic, of war ministers. For the present, however, he has the Radicals and the labor world arrayed against him. If the opportunity came in the near future they would vote him down. He ranks today as the head of the forces which, before the war, regarded him as their deadliest foe."

In conclusion Mr. Ratcliffe made a brief reference to the misrepresentations of British policy and the British people

which had obtained currency throughout the neutral world. "For those misrepresentations," he said, "a section of the English press is chiefly to blame. Events will reveal how wide of the truth they are and how deep is the injury they were doing to the reputation of England. It is not true, as recent utterances of some prominent Englishmen would seem to imply, that England is fighting for world dominance. If this were so, the British people would be fighting with a spirit and for an object indistinguishable from those which they believed to be embodied in the enemy system. Not for such an end has the young manhood of the country gone forth."

## THE SPHERE OF GOVERNMENT

The Government Committee of the Club is giving the ship of state a thorough overhauling. Leaving others to patch up the little leaks here and there it is trying to find out what is the matter with the old ship, whether any of its timbers are rotten, what is the trouble with its boilers that it goes so slowly and whether or not it is steering a true course out of the path of the icebergs.

The committee, following out its intention to begin at the very bottom of the ship, devoted four of its bi-weekly meetings in December and January to a symposium on "What Is Government For?" We used to have very definite ideas about what—on abstract, general principles—the government ought to do and what it oughtn't to do. It was held that governments are established to "maintain external defense and internal order," "preserve liberty" or "protect the weak against the strong." Outside of these things government was supposed to keep its hands off human affairs.

That this idea in its extreme form is losing ground was indicated in the remarks of nearly all the symposium speakers. While one speaker contended that as a general proposition there should be a presumption against the extension of governmental activities, it was admitted by all that individual cases must be determined on their merits and not on abstract principles.

Professor George H. Mead and Alderman Charles E. Merriam of the

University of Chicago took the position that government exists simply to give expression to the popular will at any given time and to perform those tasks which society wishes to have it perform. The duties of government, therefore, are not hard and fast for all times and places, but vary with the feelings and ideas, the aims and purposes of the people or the ruling classes at different periods of history and in different communities.

"Nobody," said Professor Merriam, "ever put out a defensible theory of the limitations of state activity. If we look at the state historically we find that at one time or another it has done almost everything that can be done by a state. In times of war or social disturbance its functions are materially extended; at other times they may be very closely limited. The fine-spun theories of the philosophers furnish us no guide here, they don't tell us whether the municipality should or should not operate a garbage plant, run the street cars of the city or do the many other things which modern cities and states have to do. As the Germans say, the government is 'zwecklos'—free to do whatever is for the general benefit."

Professor Floyd R. Mechem, representing an individualist's point of view, stated that he did not believe in a radical extension of governmental activities, but agreed with the other speakers on the futility of attempting to define the ob-

ject of government: "The object of government is sometimes stated," he said, "as being to aid man to attain his 'destiny,' secure 'happiness' or promote 'progress,' but the impossibility of giving those terms a uniform meaning makes this sort of speculation of little value. 'Progress,' to some, means the survival of the fittest, of those most competent to cope with their environment, and the improvement of mankind through the survival of the best ability; to others it means merely the bringing of the people to a certain level of material comfort and content.

"The 'individualistic' point of view considers the state merely as a tool to serve the interests of the individual. The 'socialistic' point of view subordinates the individual to the state. Under a 'socialistic' system man becomes more and more dependent on state activity and tends to lose his initiative and powers of self-development. It is impossible to say that either of these views is 'right,' but the individualist has a violent antipathy of being 'coddled' or 'nursed' by the state; he prefers to hew his own way, stand upon his own feet and win or lose according to his ability. There is an alternative viewpoint, which we may call 'collectivism,' namely, that the government should step in only where something needs to be done that cannot be done by the individual alone or by voluntary co-operation on equal terms with his fellows. Government may step in to insure an equality of opportunity, but should not restrict the exercise of superior ability."

In the discussion which followed Professor Mechem's points it was contended that a greater exercise of state authority, in certain directions instead of repressing ability, would tend to release it by lessening the strain of existence on its material side. State education, it was pointed out, produced far more satisfactory results in the cultivation of human powers than did the individualistic system, under which everyone was supposed to get his education by his own efforts.

Professor Frederick D. Bramhall, who is chairman of the Government Committee's sub-committee on the Objects of Government, in reviewing at a later meeting the ideas of the various speakers, made the following comments:

"One important reason why many people demand an extension of governmental activities is the contrast which they see today between the industrial and the political order; the feeling that in the economic field people are deprived of the right of self-determination. So long as this feeling exists there is bound to be pressure on government to aid in the removal of economic pressure. Government, moreover, is universal, and voluntary effort—through churches, trades unions and other voluntary organizations—is of a piecemeal character and limited in its application to a particular locality or section of society. Government is the one institution in which all of us act together to get results. Without the interference of government it may be impossible for a well-intentioned employer to establish just standards for conducting his business in competition with someone less scrupulous. Government also has a power of compulsion which volunteer associations possess only through their power of expelling members. Through government, moreover, the cost of community activities may be spread over the entire community—thus charity might be a function of the government instead of a tax on the sympathy of one section of the population. In these various ways government has a superior effectiveness over private organizations in dealing with big community problems.

"Various objections are made to the extension of the duties of government. It involves, according to Prof. Mechem, the danger of killing individual initiative and bringing ability to a dead uniformity.

"There is also a feeling that if government extends its functions the primary work of government, such as the maintenance of order, may be less well done. May it not, however, be the case that when the significance of government to the citizens is increased by the extension of government activities, these primary functions will be more carefully watched and efficiently carried out.

"If the idea agreed to by all the previous speakers, that no exact definition of governmental duties can be laid down, is correct, constitutions ought not to be so constructed as to tie the hands of the future. This may be dangerous, but it is probably true that the unresponsive-



ness of government to the public will today is a greater danger than ill-considered action. There is no government in the world that has such a definite prepossession against governmental activity as that of the United States."

Isaac S. Rothschild, a member of the Legislature, challenged Prof. Bramhall's contention that government is inert and unresponsive to popular sentiment. "The charge that government is behind the times is generally due," he said, "to

small groups of people who are particularly interested in some special kind of legislation, and, because the Legislature does not grant it, conclude that government does not move swiftly enough. As a matter of fact, there are few questions on which there is a definite expression of the will of the majority, and if there is, it is not stable for any length of time. Often only one side of a question is presented to the Legislature, and new legislation is often approved simply in default of opposition."

## ELEVATED LINES OR SUBWAYS

Dr. Werner Hegeman of Berlin, a city planner of international note, recently spent several days at the City Club studying the plans submitted in the City Club's land development and neighborhood center competitions. Dr. Hegeman was secretary of the committee for the architectural development of Greater Berlin and was organizer of the town, planning exhibitions of that city and of Dusseldorf. He is author of a two volume work on city planning, "Der Stadtebau." He recently finished a comprehensive city planning study for Oakland and Berkeley, and is at present lecturing throughout the United States.

On Tuesday, March 7th, he addressed informally the City Club committees which are making a study of the north side. Asked his opinion in regard to subway development, he said:

"Personally I am an advocate of elevated railways as against subways, but not of the kind of elevated railways you have in Chicago. The monstrosously ugly and noisy elevated railways of New York and Chicago have prejudiced the world against this type of transportation. When I suggested the building of elevated railways in Tokyo, men who knew about such railways in this country threw up their hands and said they didn't want them. Elevated railways that are not unsightly and are reasonably quiet can be built, as is evidenced by those of Berlin, which are good architecturally, and ballasted to reduce the noise. While it is an exaggeration to say, as some have said, that the passage of a train is not noticed by persons standing immediately

under the structure, it certainly makes no more noise than an ordinary street car. And if the streets which carry the elevated lines are built wide there is no reason why the elevated structures should cut off light from adjacent buildings.

"In developing new sections in the city certain streets should be designated as rights of way for elevated lines, and these should be built sufficiently wide to accommodate the structures. In the building of the Berlin elevated lines land values along the right-of-way greatly increased. Property benefited by the improvement should bear at least a very considerable part of the cost of construction.

"A city," Dr. Hegeman said, "is to be judged, not by its external accidental conditions, but by its willingness to improve those conditions. Chicago is more than a terrible chaos of buildings, more than a pile of badly lighted, badly ventilated business blocks, ugly, dusty streets, noisy elevated roads and miles and miles of ugly, unsanitary tenements. It has a capacity for improving these conditions if it only has the will and will think in city planning terms."

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The City Club of Cleveland will shortly open new club rooms, having leased one floor of the new addition to the Hollender Hotel of that city. The club has been occupying temporary quarters since its organization in 1913. The new club rooms, according to the announcements which have been made, will be very spacious and complete.

## WHY DO OUR POLICE FAIL?

America has the hardest police problem in the world and probably the poorest machinery in the world to handle it with, according to Raymond Fosdick of New York, investigator for the Bureau of Social Hygiene of the Rockefeller Foundation, who spoke at the City Club Saturday, March 11. Our police departments in this country, he said, are up against conditions that Von Jagow, police president of Berlin, or Sir Edward Henry, head of the London Metropolitan Police, would be appalled at. The police department of London would be overwhelmed in twenty-four hours if confronted with the crime conditions that exist in our great American cities. Mr. Fosdick, as assistant corporation counsel in New York and later—from 1910 to 1913—as commissioner of accounts in charge in the investigation of all city departments had exceptional opportunity for studying police administration in that city. Representing the Bureau of Social Hygiene he spent a year in Europe studying police methods and last year published a book that is perhaps the standard work on that subject, "European Police Systems." He is at present making a country-wide investigation of police administration in American cities. He said in part:

"American municipal government, as compared with municipal government in Germany, England, France and Switzerland, is a failure and our police departments are generally pointed to as the most conspicuous failure of all. London, according to the latest available figures, has 25 murders per year, Berlin 20, Paris 24; New York has 325 and the number in Chicago is said to exceed even that of New York. There is, I should say, ten times as much crime of all kinds in the large American cities according to their population as in European cities.

"There are four important reasons why the police problem in America is particularly difficult:

"1. America has an extremely heterogeneous population, representing every conceivable difference of temperament, custom and moral ideals. In New York 66% of the population is of foreign birth or parentage and many other great American cities show an almost equally

high percentage of foreign population. In London on the other hand only 1½% of the population is foreign, in Berlin 22/3%, in Paris 6%, in Vienna 4%. The population of these cities accordingly is homogeneous; it has fairly uniform standards and customs and the police problem of these cities is accordingly much simpler than ours. How can an Irish policeman handle Italian crime? He cannot understand the psychology of the Italian criminal as it ought to be understood, or his point of view or his customs. If the London police were put into New York they would go to pieces in twenty-four hours, because of their inability to deal with this heterogeneous population.

"2. The second handicap which the American police system has to face is perhaps a defect of our democracy. Every now and then we feel it is our obligation 'to turn the rascals out' and put in a new set. The result is that we generally have men of inadequate training and experience at the head of our police systems. In New York there have been nine police commissioners in eleven years. London, on the other hand, has had only five police commissioners in 85 years. When the commissioner is appointed he knows that his position is permanent if he makes good and that he will not be hindered by politics or removed in the event of a political upheaval.

"In America we have failed to recognize that municipal government is a special profession requiring specialized training and experience. It has been our idea that any American citizen can hold any job in the government. Abroad, however, the police commissioners are men of the broadest experience in police work. Sir Edward Henry, who directs Scotland Yard in London, has had forty years of specialized police work.

"3. The third great obstacle to efficient police administration is our unenforceable laws. American people have a hypocritical habit of putting laws upon the statute books that sound well and flatter our moral sensibilities. We enact such laws without expecting them to be enforced; indeed, we would resent any attempt to enforce them. In Louisiana,

for instance, there is a law which prohibits the sale of tobacco on Sunday; it would be impossible to secure an enforcement of this law. Any mayor who attempted to enforce the Sunday excise law in New York would raise a storm of popular resentment that would drive him out of office. Sixty-six per cent of the city's population is foreign. Instead of being dominated by up-state standards, the city should have the right to determine for itself how its customs should be regulated.

"The American people do not fully comprehend the burden which the existence of these unenforcible laws places upon police efficiency. They breed disrespect for law throughout the population and worst of all in the police department itself. One of the reasons for the greater efficiency of foreign police is that they are enforcing laws that the people want enforced.

"4. The fourth reason why police administration in Europe is more efficient than in this country is that there the police have larger powers. In this country, for instance, the police do not have the right of search without a judicial warrant. In Germany the police may enter a house without any warrant and an action against a police officer for such an invasion is entirely unknown. Police in London, however, have no greater powers than our own. I suppose these restrictions are part of our Anglo-Saxon inheritance.

"Germany, moreover, has a most elaborate system of registering its population—the so-called 'Meldewesen system.' Every person changing his residence or entering a city must be registered, giving very detailed information as to his movements—information which can be easily checked up from previous records or the records in other cities. Thus the police have a control over the movements of the population which increases their efficiency very greatly. In Berlin the system has been in operation since 1836 and there are now on file 12,000,000 cards occupying 116 rooms; the letter 'S' alone occupying 20 rooms. If a person is wanted for crime a card is filed written in red ink and any person registered under this name is immediately apprehended. The registration file

in the city from which the traveler comes is consulted as a protection against the use of an assumed name.

"I do not recommend an extension of the powers of the American police in the directions I have indicated, for such powers imply an autocratic government and are not in the spirit of a democracy. We must, however, consider these facts in assigning reasons for the greater efficiency of the foreign police."

Mr. Fosdick drew an interesting comparison between the London and Berlin police. "It is the policy of the police authorities in London," he said, "to secure recruits for the force from the country rather than the city, as it is thought that police recruited from the city 'know too much.' In Germany police officers are recruited from the army—must have served at least nine years in the army and obtained the rank of sergeant. The result is that although in London the police officer is usually very polite and civil, in Berlin he is a smart fellow with a military bearing, who treats people as he would treat a group of raw recruits in the army. The Berlin police officer goes armed for war with a short sabre, which he uses very effectively and with little hesitation, a gun, blackjack, brass knuckles and handcuffs, whereas the London police carries nothing but a short stick, not even a revolver. The police commissioner says that the London police do not need to carry guns because English burglars do not carry them. That is another reason why the London police would be overwhelmed in a very brief time in a city like New York."

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Of the 12,000 conspicuous positions, largely of an administrative character, listed in the 1915-16 Educational Directory recently issued by the Interior Department through its Bureau of Education, 2,500 are held by women. Twenty-four colleges and universities are presided over by women. Of nearly 3,000 county superintendents in the country, 508 are women. On the other hand, there are only 26 women city superintendents in a total of over 2,000.

## CONSTITUTION-MAKING IN OHIO

On Friday, March 3rd, Prof. George W. Knight of the Ohio State University, and chairman of one of the important committees of the Ohio State Constitutional Convention of 1912, addressed the Government Committee of the City Club. Prof. Knight said that conditions in Ohio before the convention were much similar to those now existing in Illinois, except that the Illinois constitution is much more difficult of amendment than was the constitution of Ohio. In fact, he said, with one exception, the Illinois constitution is more tightly locked than of any other state.

"A very good provision in the Ohio constitution," Prof. Knight said, "is the requirement that every twenty years the question of calling a constitutional convention shall be submitted to the voters. This makes amendment much easier than in Illinois, where preliminary action by the legislature is necessary. The Ohio constitutional convention, however, was not called as a result of such a vote, but in an off year, through the efforts of certain groups of citizens interested in securing reforms—some of which indeed were even somewhat antagonistic to each other. Both of the large political parties were induced to favor the calling of a convention and to place their endorsement of the proposition in the party column, as they are allowed to do under a unique provision of the Ohio constitution, so all straight party votes were counted in its favor.

"The nomination of delegates was by non-partisan petitions and the names of candidates were printed in rotation on a separate ballot. The four important propositions before the people in the

campaign were the liquor question, the modification of judicial procedure, municipal home rule and the initiative and referendum.

"There was a prolonged debate in the convention as to whether a complete new constitution or separate amendments only should be submitted to the people—the latter plan being finally adopted so as not to endanger the success of the amendments by ranging against them the minorities opposed to particular propositions. To educate the voters as to the intent of the proposed amendments, a pamphlet containing these amendments with brief explanation in each case was printed and sent to all voters, and the same information was printed widely in the newspapers. Forty-two amendments were submitted, and all but five or six were adopted.

"The question of tax reform, which is to be voted on in Illinois this fall as a separate constitutional amendment, was prominently before the convention. It was proposed to permit the classification of property. The farmers were very much afraid of this, however, because they thought it opened the way to single tax legislation, and as about three-fourths of the counties in Ohio are rural, it was impossible to get this amendment through. Even if it had passed it would have been defeated at the election."

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Three new City Club periodicals have recently made their appearance, the Bulletins of the Los Angeles and Milwaukee clubs and "The City," issued by the City Club of Cleveland.



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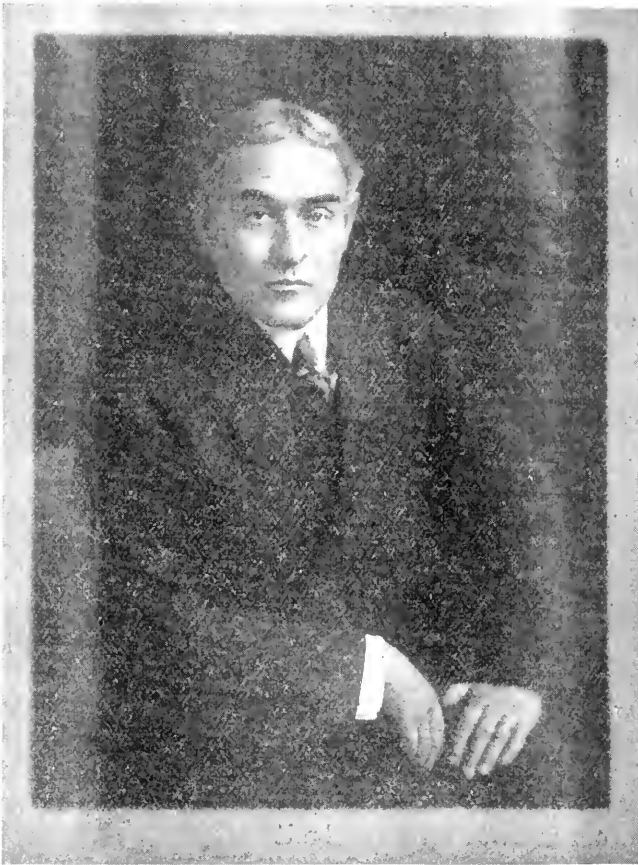
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DWIGHT L. AKERS, Editor

VOLUME IX

FRIDAY, APRIL 28, 1916

NUMBER 4



## 1860 — HENRY BAIRD FAVILL — 1916

Dr. Henry Baird Favill died at Springfield, Massachusetts, on February 20, 1916. In recognition of his leadership in the activities of this Club, of which for two years he was President, and of his many important contributions in the field of public medicine, of social service, and of civic betterment in Chicago, the Directors of the City Club on February 21 adopted the resolutions recited below, and arranged a memorial meeting, which was held at the Club on the afternoon of February 26.

The resolutions were as follows:

## RESOLUTIONS

“WHEREAS, Death has taken Henry Baird Favill, who was a charter member of this Club, was continuously a member of its Board of Directors from 1906 until his death on February 20, 1916, and was its President during the years 1910-11 and 1911-12; and

“WHEREAS, As a physician he was not only skillful in the treatment of disease, but studied and emphasized means of prevention of disease and assiduously worked for the adoption of safeguards to the public—such as proper sanitation, the inspection of milk and foods, and the wise regulation of the practice of medicine, so that not only the health of individuals, but pre-eminently the health of the community was the constant object of his efforts; and

“WHEREAS, As a citizen he unsparingly gave his thoughts and energy to movements for the improvement of civic and social conditions, bringing into play with great effectiveness the same incisive analysis of conditions, the same ability to pierce beneath surface symptoms to underlying causes that marked his diagnosis as a physician, so that his life was an inspiring example of high public service; and

“WHEREAS, He has always been a loyal member of this Club and his wise direction as President amid the many difficult questions of policy which arose during the period when the Club moved into its present building was of inestimable value, and since that time his thoughtful counsel as director has been most helpful; and

“WHEREAS, Beyond all that he has accomplished, great as it was, his personality as a man—frank, companionable, kindly—won for him affection of all the members of the Club and led them to prize his hopefulness of view, his sympathy and his largeness of heart and his innate democracy; now, therefore, be it

“*Resolved*, By the Directors of the City Club of Chicago, that in behalf of its members they record their deep sense of loss in the death of Dr. Favill and that they express their heartfelt sympathy for his family; and be it further

“*Resolved*, That a copy of these resolutions be sent to his wife and son.”

## THE MEMORIAL MEETING

The speakers at the memorial meeting were Dr. Frank Billings, Graham Taylor, Sherman C. Kingsley, and Frank H. Scott. They were introduced by Allen B. Pond, President of the Club, who, in opening the meeting, said:

*Allen B. Pond*

"Henry Favill—erect, lithe, the head thrown back, the elastic tread, the swinging stride, joyous vigor incarnate: It seemed that he, of all men, should for years to come resist the attacks of disease, the ravages of time. And yet—last Sunday in the faint gray of the early dawn that splendid spirit slipped away into the eternal silence.

"It is fitting that we of the City Club should meet today to honor his memory, to pay our tribute to his worth. He was a charter member of the Club; and from the close of its second year to the day of his death he served continuously on its board of managers—as director, chairman of its public affairs committee, as president, and then again as director. We shall miss him sorely, we who knew him, we who admired him, we who were proud of him, we who loved him. We shall miss his wise counsel, his large patience, his charity of mind, his unwavering courage. Yet even though we are met today to voice our grief at his death and our keen sense of deprivation, our feeling is not wholly that of grief. For even in our grief we rejoice that he was the man that he was, had the thoughts that were his, did the deeds that he did, and that, he being such as he was, it fell to us to know him and count him as one of us.

"He was not content to be borne along on the current of life—drifting and aimless like a chip in a stream. Always he breasted the current with a heart of controversy, shaping his course by a dimly seen but none the less truly apprehended ideal.

"He looked out on life from many angles and, from whatever angle he chanced to look, he sought 'to see life steadily and see it whole.' He touched life at many points; and wherever he laid his hand, he helped to do the task or to lighten the load. He was in very truth a tower of strength.

"We shall not wholly replace him; nor yet shall we forget him. From time to time the thought of him will spring forth into consciousness. And whenever we think of him and what he was, we shall thrust to one side our inconclusive wrestling with the enigma of life, our half-hearted surmise of its futility, shall tighten our belts and say in our hearts:

Whatever it be or whencesoever it came, life that bears such fruitage is not to be despised; and, come what may, it is worth while to have shared life's chances—its failures and its victories—in the company of such as he.

"First and foremost Henry Favill was the physician who tries to relieve the suffering of those who seek his service; but, high as is this service, he did not rest with this: he was also the physician who strives to ascertain the more remote conditions that environ our lives and that cause or pave the way for disease and who seeks those larger remedial measures which society itself must organize if we are to strike disease at its very roots. This aspect of Dr. Favill's life will be dealt with by one who knew him in his early manhood and who has been associated with him throughout his professional career: Dr. Frank Billings."

*Dr. Frank Billings*

"I have known Dr. Henry Baird Favill for thirty-five years. When I first knew him he was a student at Rush Medical College, from which he graduated in 1883 with high honors and a reputation of a rational thinker on medical subjects.

"The illness of his father, a physician, necessitated his location with him in Madison, Wisconsin, where he assumed the responsibility of the care of the family and of his father's practice. Inexperienced as he was, he cheerfully and successfully fulfilled his obligations. After ten years of most satisfactory medical service to a large community, with Madison as the center, upon the solicitation of many medical and lay friends, he removed to Chicago in 1893. Dr. Favill's medical history in Chicago was that of a successful man, as a practitioner, as a family advisor and as a social service and civic worker. As a family physician he was ideal. He carried his optimism and hopefulness to the sickroom. He aroused confidence and faith in his skill to manage the patient and his illness to a successful issue. He aroused in the minds of the patient and of the family a confidence in matters not medical and many leaned upon him.

"He became a clinical teacher in his alma mater in 1893 and in this as in his other work, he gave satisfaction to his

colleagues and to the student body. For many years he was attending physician of St. Luke's Hospital and took an active part in the continued development of that great institution. He was president of its staff at the time of his death. For six years Dr. Favill was chairman of the Council on Education and Public Health of the American Medical Association. He made the work of the Council of great importance to the entire community by co-operating with and co-ordinating the function of hundreds of organizations all over the country which were attempting to improve the physical and social condition of mankind. He prided himself on his ancestry, and from his maternal grandparents undoubtedly inherited a love of out of door life. Perhaps it was this which aroused his great interest in the improvement of living conditions of the poor and of others, and in the establishment of playgrounds, bathing beaches and other conditions intended to improve the general hygiene of the people.

"Dr. Favill had a magnificent physique and a great brain was housed in his massive head. He was a manly man. He had a wonderful mental poise, continued optimism and the gentleness of a woman. But with all, he was firm, upright and a decided opponent of all evil.

"Your loss and mine seems irreparable and yet we know that great as was the place which Favill filled in this and in the larger community of our country, someone else will take up his work and do it, if not as adequately as he, will still do it and the world will move on. But I am quite sure that the spirit of Favill will live and that we will all remember what he taught and how he lived and will join in saying: 'We thank God that he gave us Favill.'

Following Dr. Billings remarks, the chairman read the following telegram from Charles R. Crane:

"DEAR MR. POND: I deeply regret that an important and immovable engagement in Washington on Friday evening with another devoted public servant prevents me from being with you on Saturday and testifying in person to the feeling we all share of the irreparable loss Chicago has sustained in the passing away of Dr. Favill.

"The well of his human sympathies, although always being drawn upon, seemed

never to lose its flow. As a physician and as a friend he was just as thoughtful and tender of the small miseries of life, which have so much to do with our comfort and efficiency, as he was of the larger affairs of the city, which means so much in making it a habitable place and one of which we could be proud. To encourage anyone else who was working in this direction he was always there with his splendid talents, his wonderful vision and his fine presence. There was no evasion, nor excuse, nor rest. It is because he gave his all that we have had to part with him now, when it seemed as though he still had many years of continuing his rarely useful life.

"To few is such capacity for public service given; and we can only hope that for many years to come his story will be widely known and lead others to follow in his footsteps. But not to many other of our fellow citizens could the words so fittingly apply: 'Well done, thou good and faithful servant.'

PRESIDENT POND: "Dr. Favill touched the city on even another side than that of medicine. He had the true Greek spirit of loyalty to his city, thorough-going devotion, the feeling that every man, no matter what his profession or special task might be, had in addition thereto a civic duty. It is with this aspect of Dr. Favill's life that Dr. Graham Taylor will deal."

### *Graham Taylor*

"The unity of life has rarely found finer or more varied expression than in the personality of Dr. Henry Baird Favill. At the last meeting of the Physicians' Club, he struck what might have been the keynote of his life, to which at least his varied activities seemed to be attuned. He said:

"Most of the things that have become matters of common knowledge, more or less accurate, finally are elucidated and classified and systematized by science. Science rarely is the pioneer in knowledge. Science is the final expounder and clarifier of knowledge."

"To a rare degree this pioneering common knowledge and this clarifying science constituted and actuated the mind and achievements of Dr. Favill. To all his thinking and action he instinctively brought all the common thought and human feeling which gathered about any subject or situation, and let them find expression through the clarifying light and heat of his scientific self-exaction.

"The charm of him was that as a



man of science he was always and wholly human in letting by-play and toil, the light touch and the heavy task, rippling humor and courageous decision mingle in his relations at every turn of his multifarious life.

"It was just these human and scientific qualities and resources in such complete combination that gave such efficiency and driving power to Henry B. Favill's citizenship. The whole man was the citizen. His citizenship was himself—all that he was and had, or could become, personally and professionally. He held himself and his profession as a public trust.

"So much more public-spirited was he than merely professional that he never hesitated to urge the community to go to any length to safeguard the public health, at whatever cost to practitioners in his profession.

"Realizing the need of reinforcement and continuity in the movement for higher civic administration and ideals, he became a charter member of the City Club of Chicago and bore his own full share of initiative in projecting its work over which he presided for two years as president of the Club. His presence and the part he took in its discussions and work always became the point at which the interest, confidence and action of the membership readily rallied.

"It seemed hardly possible that he would or could undertake the arduous, unending, disturbing, perilous work involved in the presidency of the Municipal Voter's League. But he did, in response to what was not so much a call of duty as an opportunity to serve his city by bearing his share of its public burdens. To the perplexities of the league's personal and public problems,

he brought that clarity of judgment, in which loyalty to fact and susceptibility to the human touch, combined to make him as just as he was considerate, as firm as he was fearless. At no loss either of income or of fellowship did he hesitate or complain. Here as everywhere he stood out in the open and took what was coming to him in being a man among men.

"Special interests had as little standing with him as special legislation. For the sake of public safety and the common welfare, he effectively promoted

protective and constructive industrial legislation, not only for protection against occupational diseases and dangerous machinery, but also for such compensation for injury and death as is just to employer and employe alike. The American Association for Labor Legislation had no more wise or practically effective adviser than he.

"Still more intensively and technically he knew the science of government would have to be applied to our municipal administration if it ever

were to attain the efficiency demanded by public welfare. Therefore, he was foremost in proposing, guiding and supporting the Bureau of Public Efficiency. There he manifested the versatility of the professional man who could turn business man, of the diagnostician who could judge accounting, of the pathologist who could become adviser to the administrator. And nearest the people, he was just as much at home in supporting the settlement work as a trustee of Chicago Commons and in sharing the neighborhood festivities at Hull House.

"What magnificent proportions and fine strong fibre he had! He was so

"The color of the ground was in him, the red earth;

The tang and odor of the primal things—  
The rectitude and patience of the rocks;  
The gladness of the wind that shakes the corn;

The courage of the bird that dares the sea;  
The justice of the rain that loves all leaves;  
The pity of the snow that hides all scars;  
The loving kindness of the wayside well;  
The tolerance and equity of light,  
That gives as freely to the shrinking weed  
As to the great oak flaring to the wind—  
To the grave's low hill as to the Matterhorn  
That shoulders out the sky.

"He held his place—

Held the long purpose like a growing tree—  
Held on through blame and faltered not at praise.

And when he fell in whirlwind, he went down  
As when a kingly cedar green with boughs,  
Goes down with a great shout upon the hills  
And leaves a lonesome place against the sky."

—From "Lincoln" by Edwin Markham.

Read by Graham Taylor at the Memorial Meeting for Henry Baird Favill.

virile in intellect, scientific in self-exaction, broad in his interests, analytical and synthetic in capacity, quick in apprehension yet mature in judgment, just in caution yet prompt in decision. In action he was gloriously public-spirited, self-abnegating and fearless. Far flung in vision, he was so human withal, alike when under the severest stress and strain of work or in the abandon of his rollicking play. The like of him we have not among us."

PRESIDENT POND: "Dr. Favill gave his thought to those constructive measures that look toward the future, but he also realized that we are carrying with us many men who have fallen short in the race, people who might be considered derelicts, and that something must be done for them not only by individual helpfulness but by organized community effort and organized charity. It is with these aspects of his life that Mr. Sherman C. Kingsley will deal.

### *Sherman C. Kingsley*

"It is my very great privilege to have known Dr. Favill over a number of years in connection with the field we know as social service, and to say a few words about his work along that line:

"Dr. Favill was an officer and director in a great number and variety of civic and philanthropic organizations. He would have been in the same relation to many, many more, had it been humanly possible for him to respond, for the demands upon him were constant and unremitting.

"There was something about his presence, his genial, commanding personality, which drew people to him. His qualities of mind and heart, his rare judgment, his poise and vision, his sincerity, revealed him as a source of strength which was eagerly sought, not only by the organizations charged with the delicate and difficult task of administering the affairs of the social service field, but also by the social workers themselves, who perhaps in a particular way know and feel the need of genuine leadership, of advice, of encouragement, of sympathy and of strength.

"Dr. Favill was especially sought by such agencies and individuals in their big problems and perplexities, and no one, I believe, ever went to him on such

a quest, who came away without being strengthened and helped. The Doctor listened to all these problems with an unhurried interest and a calm reassurance. In some way he was able to keep his mind and heart in tune with the larger realities and unfettered by the worries and complexities, by the hampering, dissipating little annoyances that weaken and handicap.

"Dr. Favill's knowledge as a physician, his interest in social affairs, his thoroughgoing humanity, his friendship with people, running through the whole gamut of our social life, and perhaps more than anything else his absolute refusal to be fettered by the turmoil and perplexities of our modern life, made him a man of singular ability to serve. His power in this direction was noted and often commented upon. His addresses on such subjects as 'The Police Power,' made in Washington at the time of the International Tuberculosis Conference, on the 'Cause of Child Labor,' 'Social Insurance,' 'The Public and the Medical Profession,' are evidences of his grasp and interest in the larger phases of social problems.

"His service to individuals, both the humblest and most obscure and those also of the largest social and industrial standing of our community, and in the country, are indications of the wide range and grasp of the Doctor's life and influence.

"The psalmist of old exclaimed: 'I will lift up mine eyes unto the hills whence cometh my help.' Doctor Favill must have found the secret of the large ministries which the open fields, the woods, the hills, can yield each man who understands and knows how to use them.

"There never is a time when the loss of such a man can be easily understood or endured. His loss just now seems peculiarly heavy when large minded, unselfish devotion are so sorely needed.

"In dealing with his patients, the doctor brought to the sick room a strength and reassurance, a new courage for the fight. He was not stampeded or panic-stricken. He did not cause the patient's temperature to rise or his fighting qualities to waiver because of any breathlessness or false motions on his own part. He breathed courage and hope. He was a mighty rock of strength. Those very

same qualities the doctor brought to Boards of Directors and individual workers in their troubles and problems. He was able always to make people do their best and to impart new courage and new hope.

"Those of us who knew the doctor's spirit of good cheer and who knew his friendship and caught the inspiration of his radiant, splendid spirit, will never forget him. He was a leader who inspired confidence and courage and joy of service. We can honor such a man only by trying to carry on the kind of life he lived. When Elijah of old, prophet and warrior, knew that the time of his departing was near at hand, he said to Elisha, the man who was to follow him, 'Ask whatsoever you will and it shall be granted.' Elisha's reply was: 'I pray thee, that a double portion of thy spirit descend upon me.' Our city, our state, our country need a baptism of such spirit, such ability as that lived among us by our dear friend, Dr. Favill. This same narrative to which I have referred goes on to say: 'And Elisha took up the mantle which Elijah laid down.' Shall thousands among us strive harder for the bigger, richer life because we knew him?"

PRESIDENT POND: "Doctor Favill was an all-round man. He had, too, in a high degree that quality which the ancient Romans called magnanimity, great-mindedness. He was a high-hearted human being, adapted for all expressions of life; a friend as well as a working man. It is with this all inclusive aspect of Dr. Favill's life that Mr. Frank H. Scott will deal."

### *Frank H. Scott*

"Harry Favill was one of nature's masterpieces. Intimate acquaintance was not necessary to a recognition of his distinction. There was that in his features, the lineaments of his countenance, his form and bearing, which set him apart from other men, and stirred deeply the imagination.

"In physical appearance he seemed of another age, an age more virile and heroic, who by some chance had strayed out of his own time and natural environment, into our own common-place day, and the conventional life of a great modern city.

"There was revealed in his face a calm confidence which stamped him as a master of circumstances, never their creature. That our eyes shall never be gladdened again by the sight of that man, so exceptional in his physical attributes, is in itself no little loss.

"But it was the knowledge that we had of the spirit within, which caused the peculiar shock which his death wrought; for the spirit of the man was as rare as the form which embodied it. We have heard today of his activities in his profession, in civic affairs, and in the care of the poor and the afflicted. They were only the more obvious manifestations of an unremitting, but not vocal, sympathy for his fellow men. At the bottom of it all was this fact, he was a rare friend of his fellow men.

"He became to many of his patients much more than a minister to bodily ailments. To which of us who knew him did the news of his death not bring instant thought of homes to which his death would mean not merely the loss of a physician, but of a wise counsellor in the most intimate affairs of life. We knew that it struck at many as though a sustaining prop had suddenly fallen away from the structure of their lives. They leaned upon his strength from day to day and from year to year.

"His civic work gratified no personal ambition, nor did he find in it any of the excitement of the game. It was a burden assumed by an overburdened man, because of his desire to serve his fellow men, and to better the conditions under which they lived. He brought to it a courage which took no note of consequences to, or criticism of, himself. He looked to his own conscience for the justification of his acts, and finding it there, was not fretted by the judgment of others.

"But various as were his activities, as publicly known, they were by no means the full measure of his service. The door of this friend of mankind was open, and his wisdom and scientific attainments were at the service of all who came to him, however humble.

"His interest in young men was keen, and he found time to manifest it in ways that to most busy men would seem impossible.

"Favill found time for the intimacies

of private friendships. He was a member of certain little groups of men which for years have been accustomed to meet at stated periods, when the serious things of life were, for the most part, thrown aside, and where the assured confidence of mutual respect and affection made possible the freest interchange of give and take, of raillery and wit, and on such occasions none struck keener blows, or took them with better grace than did he. He was born for friendship.

"Often I have wondered how Favill accomplished so many and such different things, and indeed, why he undertook so much outside of the profession which itself imposed such burdens upon him. The answer came in the funeral service. You will remember that Dr. Gunsaulus told of an occasion when Dr. Favill addressed the Young Womens' Christian Association, and opening the bible read that chapter beginning: 'Although I speak with the tongues of men and of angels, and have not love, I am become as sounding brass, or a tinkling cymbal.' Therein that self-contained man revealed himself and explained his life. The note he struck that day was the note to which his heart was tuned. His was the great love of one who would lay down his life for his friend; he was the friend of mankind, and to the service of mankind he devoted his life."

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BIOGRAPHICAL—Henry Baird Favill was born at Madison, Wisconsin, August 14, 1860, and died at Springfield, Massachusetts, February 20, 1916. He graduated from the University of Wisconsin in 1880 and from Rush Medical College in 1883, then began the practice of medicine at Madison. In 1893 he came to Chicago, where he continued

in active practice until the time of his death.

During most of Dr. Favill's life in Chicago he was on the medical faculties of the Chicago Polyclinic and of Rush Medical College. He was also attending physician for St. Luke's, Passavant and Augustana Hospitals. He was a leader in the work of many medical and public health associations, much of his effort being directed to the improvement of conditions affecting health. From its organization in 1910, he was chairman of the Council on Health and Public Instruction of the American Medical Association, which had in charge the educational work of that organization.

In 1907-8 he was president of the Chicago Medical Society and until 1913, of the Chicago Tuberculosis Institute. Some of the other medical or public health organizations in whose work he took active part as officer or member are the Chicago Pathological Society, Chicago Institute of Medicine, Physicians' Club of Chicago and the National Society for Mental Hygiene. His interest in public hygiene also led him into the work of the American Association for Labor Legislation.

Dr. Favill's civic activities outside the field of his profession were equally broad and varied. From 1906 until his death he was a member of the Board of Directors of the City Club, from 1907 to 1910 chairman of its Public Affairs Committee and from 1910 to 1912 its President. He was president of the Municipal Voters League for three years from 1907 to 1909. In 1910 he helped organize the Chicago Bureau of Public Efficiency and served continuously on its Board of Trustees until the time of his death. Other associations with whose work he was prominently identified are the United Charities, the Association of Commerce and the National Dairy Council.



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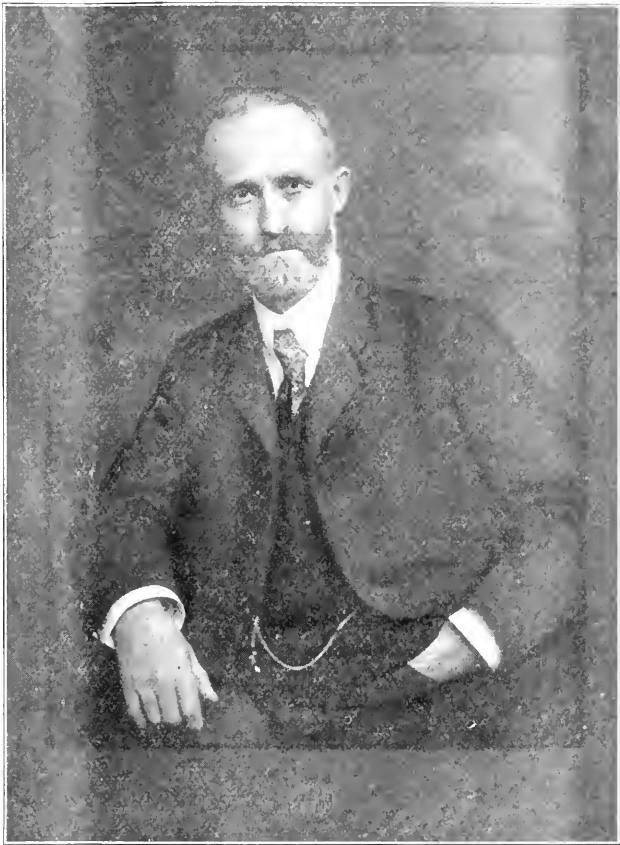
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DWIGHT L. AKERS, Editor

VOLUME IX

FRIDAY, MAY 5, 1916

NUMBER 5



FRANK I. MOULTON, President of the City Club.  
Elected April 15, 1916.

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*Symposium Announcement, Page 82.*

## CLUB NOTES

The Annual Meeting of the City Club for the presentation of the reports of officers and for the election of officers and directors for the coming year was held at the Club rooms on Saturday, April 15th. The reports of the president and treasurer presented at this meeting are printed on another page of this bulletin.

The following officers and directors were elected:

President—FRANK I. MOULTON  
 Vice-President—WILLIAM SCOTT BOND  
 Secretary—ROY C. OSGOOD  
 Treasurer—HAROLD H. ROCKWELL  
 Directors—ALFRED L. BAKER, GEORGE H. MEAD, EDGAR A. BANCROFT, SHELBY M. SINGLETON.

Mr. Moulton, the new president, is a partner in the law firm of Helmer, Moulton, Whitman & Whitman. He has been chairman of the City Club Committee on Parks and Playgrounds since 1908. Mr. Moulton was also chairman of the special committee of the Club on Park Consolidation, which took an active part in the campaign for legislation on this subject. He was chairman of the Executive Committee of the Forest Reserve District Association, which for a number of years carried on the fight to secure legislation enabling the county to conserve the wooded areas around Chicago. In 1896-7 Mr. Moulton was president of the Hamilton Club.

Roy C. Osgood, elected secretary, is trust officer at the First Trust & Savings Bank.

The first meeting in the Club's Symposium on the Ideals of Contemporary American Life was held in the Club rooms on the evening of Wednesday, April 26. The Club house was crowded. The private dining rooms as well as the main dining room and the grill, were pressed into service to accommodate those in attendance, numbering nearly 500.

The subjects and speakers for this evening were as follows:

IDEALS IN BUSINESS, George W. Perkins.  
 IDEALS IN LABOR, John P. Frey.  
 IDEALS IN "SOCIETY," Elsie Clews Parsons.

A number of parties were given at the dinner, including parties in honor of the

speakers. Mr. David R. Forgan entertained a party in honor of Mr. Perkins. Mr. Frey was the guest of honor of a similar party given by Mr. Willoughby G. Walling, and Mrs. Parsons of a group entertained by Mr. Charles H. Hamill.

The tables in the main dining room were beautifully decorated with flowers provided by Jens Jensen.

The tickets are being rapidly disposed of for the other three meetings of the series. These meetings will be as follows:

WEDNESDAY, MAY 3RD: IDEALS IN EDUCATION, LAW, AND GOVERNMENT.

Speakers: Ernest C. Moore, Professor of Education, Harvard University; John Bradley Winslow, Chief Justice, Wisconsin Supreme Court; Charles E. Merriam, Professor Political Science, University of Chicago.

WEDNESDAY EVENING, MAY 10TH: IDEALS IN LETTERS, ART, AND MUSIC.

Speakers: Paul Shorey, Head of Department of Greek, University of Chicago; Ralph Adams Cram, Architect, Boston and Chicago; Edward Dickinson, Professor of History and Criticism of Music, Oberlin College.

FRIDAY EVENING, MAY 19TH: IDEALS IN SCIENCE, RELIGION, AND PHILOSOPHY.

Speakers: John Merle Coulter, Head of Department of Botany, University of Chicago; Prof. George Albert Coe, Union Theological Seminary, New York; Harry Allen Overstreet, Head of Department of Philosophy, College of the City of New York.

Two exhibits will be held in connection with these meetings of the Symposium: An exhibit on the evening of May 3rd, of books relating to contemporary American ideals, and an exhibit on May 10th and May 19th, of paintings illustrating the contemporary spirit in art.

The symposium meetings begin promptly at 6 p. m. in the Lounge, and at 7:00 p. m. there is an adjournment for dinner, the discussion being resumed at 8 o'clock.

Dinner seats are assigned in the order that checks are received—first in the main dining room and then in the Grill and private dining rooms. Seats in the Lounge for the addresses are reserved for all holders of dinner tickets. Orders for dinner tickets (\$1.00) should be addressed to the City Club and should be accompanied by check.

The Keating-Owen bill forbidding interstate commerce in the products of certain forms of child labor has been indorsed by the committees of the City Club on Public Education and on Labor Conditions. On April 19th a letter was sent to the senators from Illinois on behalf of these two committees, urging their support of this bill. The bill has already been passed by the House.

Stahlman L. Williams has been appointed chairman of the City Club Committee on Accident Prevention to succeed Lyman O. Stanton, who has resigned.

The City Club Committee on Civil Service has sent to the county and state chairmen of the various political parties, planks which it recommends for insertion in the platforms to be adopted by the county and state conventions, favoring "the enactment of such laws or amendments to laws as would be necessary to secure comprehensive merit rule for Cook County, for the sanitary district of Chicago and Municipal Court of Chicago." The state conventions are also asked to support amendments to the present state civil service law.

A number of copies of Walter L. Fisher's address before the City Club some weeks ago on "Preparations for Peace" are still available. Members of the City Club may secure them by request addressed to the City Club.

The City Club Committee on State Constitution is urging upon the parties the adoption of a plank favoring a constitutional convention for Illinois and recommending the submission by this convention of separate amendments rather than a complete new instrument.

Richard E. Schmidt, a member of the City Club and formerly county architect

for Cook County, has been appointed by the directors, at the invitation of the Finance Committee of the City Council, as a representative of the Club, to act with the Finance Committee in its investigation of the affairs of the Municipal Tuberculosis Sanitarium.

Mr. Samuel Adams has accepted appointment on the Public Affairs Committee to succeed Thomas W. Swan, who resigned to become dean of Yale Law School.

The following new members have joined the City Club since the last issue of the City Club Bulletin:

C. E. Affeld, Jr., fire insurance.  
 Wm. R. Barnes, C. M. Barnes-Wilcox Co., school books.  
 Herbert W. Caldwell, Hibbard, Spencer, Bartlett & Co.  
 Charles M. Cartwright, publisher "Western Underwriter."  
 Harold A. Dalzell, superintendent men's work, Fourth Presbyterian Church.  
 W. E. Daniels, assistant to Secretary and Treasurer, Illinois Steel Co.  
 William Dickens, Aldis & Co.  
 William C. Dunlop, Chicago Traction and Subway Commission.  
 John J. Fischer, real estate.  
 Charles W. Follett, C. M. Barnes-Wilcox Co., school books.  
 John Gutknecht, lawyer.  
 Albert A. Henry, Hilgard Lumber Co.  
 Charles DeLano Hine, consulting specialist in railway operations, Vienna, Va.  
 Judge Henry Horner, probate court.  
 D. A. Houston, accountant.  
 Harry R. James, Spencer Heater Co.  
 Harold F. Johnson, Curtis-Johnson Printing Co.  
 Wm. H. A. Johnson, lawyer.  
 Paul E. Lobanoff, Chicago Telephone Co.  
 A. E. Logie, principal, Walsh School.  
 Clarence L. Neu, Physicians' Record Co.  
 Philip T. Potter, engineer.  
 F. E. Reeve, Bellows-Reeve Co.  
 Carl L. Schmidt, Spencer-Trask Co., investment bankers.  
 George W. Swain, lawyer, Winston, Payne, Strawn & Shaw.  
 Fred M. Van Gieson, De Vine Safety Razor Company.



## ANNUAL REPORT OF THE PRESIDENT.

PRESENTED AT THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE CITY CLUB, APRIL 15, 1916

### FELLOW-MEMBERS OF THE CITY CLUB:

I submit herewith a report of the activities of the Club during the year ending March 31, 1916. I also desire to call your attention to certain aspects of the Club life and work that merit the consideration of the membership generally as well as of the officers and directors whom you are to choose to guide the Club during the ensuing year.

#### MEMBERSHIP

The Club has held its own in the matter of size of membership during the trying financial condition that affected so greatly so many branches of business and professional life during the past twelvemonth. All indications point to a steady improvement in these conditions from now on, in spite of the noise and distraction of the quadrennial political contest. A re-organized membership committee is maturing plans for a membership campaign on somewhat different lines from those heretofore employed. An increase in the number of members will enhance the value of the Club to its members and to the community and will enable the new Officers and Board to serve the Club more effectively than they can with the present membership. I urge that you each and all co-operate promptly and cordially in the very small task that the new membership committee will shortly place before you as your individual share in this movement.

#### CLUB OPERATION AND CLUB LIFE

I realize that the City Club is not a social club in the sense that most of the down-town clubs are. Nevertheless I believe that this aspect of the Club may be considerably developed to the increased satisfaction of many of the members and to the advancement rather than the detriment of the civic purpose for which the Club primarily exists. Your officers have found their time and energies so heavily drawn on and the Club funds so limited during the past year that it has seemed impracticable to give the attention to this aspect of Club life that I believe it should receive. It is my hope that the new officers may have the desire and may find a way to devise and put into operation plans for the enrichment of the Club's social life.

As to the ordinary operation of the Club: It is my fortune to live largely at clubs and to know something of what is offered to the membership of various down-town clubs. I do not hesitate to assert that no other down-town club offers to its members anything like the same return in proportion to the annual due; and I believe that this same assertion would easily hold true were the annual dues fifty per cent greater than they now are. The quality of the food is excellent; the cooking uniformly good, and the service fair. The House Committee is vigilant and competent; and the members of the staff are attentive and anxious to please. It is greatly to be hoped that ways and means may be found in the near future to enable the Club to dispense with the income now derived from the rental of the sixth story and to convert the entire building to club uses. Several changes can then easily be made that will materially add to the convenience and comfort of the members.



## FINANCES

As heretofore the Public work of the Club has been sustained by special contribution over and above the receipts from dues and earnings. It is noteworthy and gratifying that an unusually large number of those members who are not so circumstanced as to be able to make large contributions to the "public work fund" did their share by way of small contributions.

The annual dues and earnings have not wholly sufficed, the past few years, to defray the ordinary operating expenses. Unless a substantial increase in membership shall overcome this shortage, the Club will have to face the question of raising of the annual dues. It is not improbable that this may prove to be a wise measure even though the number of members be considerably increased, inasmuch as steps should be taken to place the Club on firm ground by looking forward to and preparing for the taking up of the outstanding five per cent bonds.

## CLUB STAFF

There are, at the present time, 59 employes on the regular staff of the Club, classified as follows:

<i>Office</i> (civic secretary, assistant civic secretary, office manager, bookkeeper, stenographers, librarian, telephone operator, clerk, office boy).....	10
<i>House</i> (manager, cashiers, engineers, door man, pages, billiard room employes, elevator and check-room boys, janitor, housemen and scrub women).....	18
<i>Kitchen</i> (chef and assistant cooks, dish-washers, pantry and store-room employes).....	16
<i>Dining Room</i> (head waiter, head waitress, checker, waiters—not counting extra help)...	15

A moment's consideration should make it clear that the Club staff is by no means excessive for the work to be done and that the Club is being well served by its staff. To the annual wage of the regular employes of the Club is added from the Christmas fund an amount which materially increases the salaries.

## THE PUBLIC WORK

Last year the Board caused a careful and critical survey to be made of the public work of the Club; and the result has been a wise concentration of Club energy during the year just closed. No exhibitions illustrative of community conditions and needs have been held this past year. But some of the other Club activities have been developed and strengthened.

*Committee Work.*

For example, the committee work has been re-organized and committees dealing with kindred subject matter have been combined in one committee, with the result that there has been a more effective co-ordination through the work of sub-committees under one direction than could be had through several committees, related in field of interest, but wholly separate from one another. I direct your attention, in this connection, to the following special features that have been evolved in consequence of this critical study and re-organization:

1. The organization of a Senate, composed of all the chairmen of the standing civic committees, to consider matters of mutual committee concern.

2. The preparation of a plan for the physical improvement of Chicago north of Kinzie Street. This is being prepared by the City Planning Committee and eleven co-operative committees, namely: The Committees on Parks and Playgrounds; Public Utilities; Municipal

Art; Fire Protection; Harbors, Wharves and Waterways; Drainage and Sewerage; Streets, Alleys and Bridges; Housing Conditions; Education; Accident Prevention; and Water Supply. The five committees first named have already submitted preliminary reports.

3. The organization of a special civic committee on government to study the entire field of government—its theory, functions, organization and workings. This study is being conducted in a fundamental and far-reaching way.

4. The Committee Field Day, March 4, 1916. The first time in the history of the Club when all committees have been brought together in one meeting. Three-minute reports of committee work were given by the chairmen of the twenty-seven civic committees.

One of the prime essentials in securing efficient democratic government in American cities is that the citizens should know the facts and should be guided by disinterested counsellors to some comprehension of the import of the facts. A thoroughly well organized and wisely administered local government would furnish to the citizens accurately digested statements of fact and dispassionate discussion of their bearings. Our American city governments have seldom reached that pitch of wisdom—that practical civic sense. It remains, then, for volunteer citizen groups to perform this function as best they may. Herein lies one part of the exceeding great value of the Civic Committees of the City Club. They constitute a machinery for the unbiased investigation of community conditions and for the beginnings of the formation of an intelligent and directive public opinion. The Club itself forms a forum for the presentation of the results of such investigations, and a fulcrum from which an influence may be exerted beyond the confines even of the Club membership. Whatever may be the deficiencies of the City Club Civic Committee system—and that deficiencies exist would least be denied by those who know the system best—it remains in my judgment indisputable that no organization or set of organizations in this community today is doing so valuable a work in this field as are the Civic Committees—standing and special—of the City Club of Chicago.

It is impracticable in this brief report to do more than indicate in a very inadequate way the work of these committees during the past year. Much of this work—incomplete as it may be during any one year—is but a link in a chain that is bound to draw forth valuable results when the work of not one year, but several years is weighed. The following brief summary of the public action taken by committees will give a clue to their work this past year:

#### COMMITTEE ON MUNICIPAL ART.

Supported proposed ordinance prohibiting billboards in residence districts. Sent letter to all City Club members urging use of influence for its adoption. Ordinance failed, however, of passage in committee.

Secured from the Legislature, after several years of effort, a law drafted by the committee conferring compulsory powers on Municipal Art Commissions.

Continued interest in enforcement of frontage consent provisions of billboard ordinance in case now pending before the U. S. Supreme Court. The committee assisted the Corporation Counsel in the preparation of this case, which the city won before the Illinois Supreme Court.

#### COMMITTEE ON LOCAL AND STATE CHARITIES.

Advocated consolidation of Cook County social service departments. This consolidation has now taken place.

COMMITTEE ON CITY PLANNING.

Submitted to South Park Commissioners suggestions regarding plans for the improvement of Grant Park.

Urged delay in appropriation for power plant on the Potomac River to allow consideration of recommendations by Fine Arts Commission and other experts as to its location. Senate Committee refused this delay.

COMMITTEE ON CIVIL SERVICE.

Sent to members of Legislature a "comparative study of civil service bills for Cook County, showing their similarities and differences," together with suggestions and recommendations as to the form of this legislation. No county civil service legislation was passed at this session.

COMMITTEE CRIMINAL JUSTICE (now consolidated with Committee on Public Order).

Urged upon County Board a report by expert commission on type of jail plan needed for Chicago, and because of County Board's failure to submit definite plan on modern lines, led movement against bond issue for proposed new county jail and aided in its defeat by the voters.

COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC EDUCATION.

Sent to Board of Education communication urging that the school deficit should not be met by cutting the salaries of teachers or by curtailing the work of the public schools.

Worked for more representative and better qualified School Board by urging on mayor that only persons of special fitness be appointed.

Called preliminary conference of Illinois organizations interested in vocational training as first step toward co-operative action in securing legislation on this subject. Held March 31, 1916, and subsequent conferences arranged for.

Sent letter to Illinois members of Congress endorsing Smith-Hughes bill for Federal aid to vocational training.

COMMITTEE ON POLITICAL NOMINATIONS AND ELECTIONS.

Opposed passage of Senate bill 500—later defeated—changing form of aldermanic elections.

Supported some of the "election economy" bills at the 1916 special session of the General Assembly and opposed action at that time on bill for four-year registration.

COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC EXPENDITURES.

Sent protest to Board of Education against practice of paying extra compensation to employes out of salary grade by an indirect and illegal method.

COMMITTEE ON FIRE PROTECTION.

Wrote Mayor Thompson, calling attention to efficient service given by fire department under Chief O'Connor and urging that no change be made in the direction of this department.

COMMITTEE ON HARBORS, WHARVES AND WATERWAYS.

Secured veto by the governor of the so-called "Swanson" bill, which the committee believed prejudicial to public interests in the development of Calumet harbor.

COMMITTEE ON IMMIGRATION AND CITIZENSHIP.

Has taken steps to secure publication and free distribution to immigrants seeking naturalization of copies of the U. S. Constitution and of text-book on citizenship.

COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC HEALTH.

Opposed so-called "Mandel sub-basement ordinance," legalizing use of department store sub-basements for retail sale of goods. Ordinance failed of passage in Council.

COMMITTEE ON JUDICIAL SYSTEM AND PROCEDURE.

Re-introduced in Legislature, in amended form, the committee's bill for non-partisan election of judges, but bill again failed of passage.

COMMITTEE ON LABOR CONDITIONS.

Supported unemployment bill at hearing before Senate committee at Springfield.

Sent letter to mayor urging him to use his influence toward settlement of garment workers' strike.

Presented its views on the "Buck report" on policing strikes at hearing on this subject before Council Committee on Schools, Fire, Police and Civil Service. Report still pending.

COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC ORDER.

In letter to mayor opposed veto of appropriation for Morals Division in Police Department.

In letter to City Council Finance Committee supported recommendations of Crime Commission for treatment of women offenders.

## COMMITTEE ON PARKS AND PLAYGROUNDS.

Urged Illinois members of Congress to support "Kent bill," consolidating the management of the national parks in a national park service in the Interior Department. Still pending.

Successfully opposed location of armory in Lincoln Park.

With other organizations submitted to Mayor Thompson list of persons specially qualified for service on Special Park Commission—the mayor prior to the election having pledged these organizations that only persons so qualified be appointed. The communication of these organizations not answered by the mayor.

## COMMITTEE ON TAXATION.

Supported legislation for a state tax commission to take place of present board of equalization.

Adopted and sent to Legislature resolution protesting against provision in tax amendment restricting classification principle to personal property. Amendment passed with restriction.

## WATER SUPPLY.

Prepared report on "Water waste in Chicago," urging general metering. This was sent to members of City Council, printed in the Club Bulletin and distributed, as a reprint, to the extent of several thousand copies to the members of various civic organizations.

## COMMITTEE ON VICE CONDITIONS.

Supported red light injunction bill passed by last Legislature.

This, of course, does not represent the sum total of committee activities as many matters are brought before committees which do not result in any public activity.

Without minimizing the work of any committee, I wish to call attention particularly to the effective work of the following standing committees: The Municipal Art Committee and the Parks and Playground Committee, whose continuous and intelligent work is bearing fruit of great value; the Water Supply Committee, whose recent report on water waste is particularly opportune; the Harbors, Wharves and Bridges Committee, whose timely work was exceptionally effective, and the intelligent, far-reaching work of the Committee on Criminal Justice, which formulated the far-sighted program anent the steps necessary to be taken to secure a suitable jail plan, and which failing in securing suitable action by the County Board, did such effective work at the last moment, in conjunction with the Woman's City Club and other groups, that the proposed bond issue for a new jail was defeated.

A sub-committee of the Committee on Public Education has just completed a very creditable and important piece of work, the results of which will be made public in the near future, viz.: A comparative study of certain individual public schools in Chicago and other cities from the pedagogic aspect, with a view to arriving at an estimate of their relative efficiency and progressiveness.

In addition to the channel afforded by the standing civic committees, the City Club creates special committees from time to time, and action is taken either by these special committees or by the Board basing its decisions on the reports of such special committees. Instances of such public action, during the past year have been:

*Directors.*

Presented petition to Board of Education advocating a method designed to secure selection of qualified superintendent of schools and secured advocacy of the suggested method by some half dozen other civic organizations.

Established a basis for co-operation with other organizations seeking to secure proper prosecution of cases under factory and labor laws.

Co-operated with representatives of other civic bodies, which had been invited by the Board of Education to name an auditor for the Board of Education, in refusing so to act and in urging upon the Board the importance of a sympathetic and searching study of the entire school system—administrative and pedagogic.

Co-operated with other groups in the formation of the Committee of One Hundred to protect the Municipal Tuberculosis Sanitarium from intrusion of spoils politics, and urged upon the City Council Finance Committee the necessity for a thoroughgoing and unbiased investigation of the sanitarium. At request of Finance Committee appointed a representative to assist the committee in making such investigation.

Called attention of corporation counsel to broader aspects of the Steele-Wedeles case and the possibility that the police powers of the city might be seriously impaired if the case were not vigorously defended.

*President.*

Sent telegram to the governor urging that he sign bill increasing tax rate for library purposes.

*Special Committees.*

One such committee, consisting mainly of architects, has made a study of two sites in Chicago for the development of neighborhood centers along the lines of the neighborhood center competition last year. The final drawings resulting from this study and a critical discussion of the matter are being prepared by Prof. Joseph Hudnut of the Alabama Polytechnic Institute, and it is expected that these will be published in the near future along with the drawings submitted in the competition.

Another such committee worked out the details of the petition of the Board of Directors to the Board of Education in *re* method of choosing a superintendent of schools.

Another such committee worked out the details of the Symposium Series on Contemporary American Ideals in conjunction with the civic secretary, who conceived the idea of such a symposium.

Another such committee has made report to the Board of Directors on the subject of More Effective Medical Service, suggested by the address of Dr. Richard C. Cabot before the Club on November 4, 1915, and an opportunity will shortly be offered to members of the Club to try an experiment along the lines suggested by the committee.

*Club Discussions.*

The Club discussions during the past year have fully maintained their usual high level for range and importance of subject matter, immediacy of interest and practicality of theme. As against 39 day time and 11 evening discussions—a total of 49—during the preceding year, there have been during the year just closed 57 daytime and 3 evening discussions—a total of 60 discussions. It is invidious to try to single out any from a series so admirable in character; but perhaps special mention may be made of the following:

May 17, 1915 (Ladies' Night): "Chicago's School Buildings and Grounds"—Kate Starr Kellogg, Sherman C. Kingsley, D. H. Perkins, William B. Ittner, Architect St. Louis School Board.

May 19, 1915 (Ladies' Night): "Play and Recreation in Chicago"—E. B. De Groot, Allen Hoben, Amalie H. Jerome, Azile Reynolds, B. A. Eckhart, J. Frank Foster, A. C. Schrader, E. A. Kaust, Mary MacDowell, Eugene Block.

June 2, 1915 (Ladies' Night): Symposium, "What Is Human Progress?"—John Dewey

Jacob H. Hollander, James Harvey Robinson.

November 29-December 1: Three meetings on "Chicago's Civil Service Crisis"—Francis X. Busch, Edgar A. Bancroft, Maclay Hoyne.

December 28, 1915: "The Mandel Sub-basement Ordinance"—Wm. H. Sexton, E. A. Renwick, Richard E. Schmidt, Harriet E. Vittum, Allen B. Pond.

March 4, 1916: First Committee Field Day for Civic Committees of the Club.

### *Publications.*

No large publications have been issued during the year, but it is expected that the plans submitted in the Quarter Section competition of 1913 will be published in book form within six or eight weeks.

### *The Bulletin.*

Only six numbers of the Bulletin were issued during the past year. The plan of printing condensed accounts of many of the addresses has been followed and this plan, together with the publication of sundry minor notes and personal items, has perhaps served to keep members in touch with the Club work quite as closely as did the larger number of issues during previous years. It is hoped that means may be devised for making the Bulletin a more frequent and still more adequate agency for keeping members in touch with the Club activities and for influencing a larger public opinion.

Beyond any doubt the publication of the discussions on the city civil service situation and on the proposed special legislation in *re* the Mandel sub-basement had a marked and immediate influence.

THE BUREAU OF PUBLIC EFFICIENCY—oldest child of the Club—besides aiding the judges in regard to the needs of the fee offices of the county, has under way and well advanced a study of the city water works, and has undertaken a further study into the savings to be effected by a consolidation of the several local governments. The Club has good cause to be proud of its offspring.

I realize that the Club has achieved but a fraction of that which needs to be achieved along these and similar lines in this community. Nevertheless its value to the community seems to me to be more clearly demonstrated with each passing year. Whatever may have been the Club's sins of omission resulting from lack of time, funds, energy or initiative, I feel certain that in all its multifarious activities and with chances for a misstep always at hand, its sins of commission have been so few as to be negligible. I count this no mean achievement and the Club and its Board and its committees greatly to be congratulated. In conclusion, I wish to express my own deep gratitude to the Club's officers and committees for the way in which they have met arduous demands, and the Club staff for the energy they have put into the Club's service.

I extend my sincere wishes for its success to the new administration. May I not pledge the entire Club to see to it that the new officers are ably and faithfully supported in their tasks?

Standing now, where so often I have seen Dr. Favill stand, I cannot forbear to add a brief tribute to that splendid spirit to whose sane and balanced judgment, wise and far-sighted counsel, ungrudging self-sacrifice, inspiring presence and buoyant faith in the outcome of the human experiment, this Club, and the community which it seeks to serve, owe an inextinguishable debt of gratitude. Wherever he may be—in whatsoever dim and trackless region or whatsoever brilliant paths of unconfining space—our benedictions, *pari passu*, follow him.

Respectfully submitted,

ALLEN B. POND, *President.*

# ANNUAL REPORT OF THE TREASURER

Statement of Assets and Liabilities as at March 31st, 1916

## ASSETS

Leasehold, building and Equipment, at cost.....\$179,559.98

### Furnishings:

Furniture and Fixtures .....\$9,190.91  
 Kitchen Equipment .....2,895.52  
 Crockery and Utensils .....1,745.40  
 Silverware .....1,145.92  
 Linen .....339.15  
 House Linen .....25.97

### Inventories:

Provisions .....\$ 425.98  
 Cigars .....817.60  
 Dining Room Supplies .....63.75

### Accounts Receivable:

Unpaid Dues .....\$3,995.00  
 Less: Reserve for Doubtful Accounts. 1,329.70  
 .....\$2,665.30

### Subscribers to Public Work Fund:

Traffic and Transportation Publication..... 669.29  
 Rents Receivable .....406.76  
 Unpaid Restaurant and Cigar Checks.....290.50  
 General Accounts .....155.21

### Sundry Prepayments:

Leasehold Ground Rent .....\$ 845.80  
 Insurance Premiums .....776.59

### Cash in Bank and on Hand

.....16,896.85

\$223,552.04

## LIABILITIES

### First Mortgage Leaschold 5% Bonds:

Authorized Issue, due August 1, 1941..\$200,000.00

Bonds Issued .....\$182,100.00  
 Scrip. Issued (Secured by Deposit of \$3,900.00  
 City Club Bonds with the Northern Trust  
 Co.) .....3,675.00  
 .....\$185,775.00

Note Payable, National City Bank .....14,000.00  
 (Secured by Deposits of \$14,000.00 of City Club Bonds.)

Accounts Payable..... 5,810.68

### Reserves:

Dues Paid in Advance .....\$1,252.50  
 Taxes .....5,278.15  
 Bond Interest Accrued .....3,868.25  
 Income Tax Withheld .....101.48  
 .....10,500.38

### Sundry Funds, Balances Unexpended:

Special Fund .....\$5,000.00  
 Christmas Fund .....73.89  
 Competition Publication .....666.96  
 Educational Research Bureau .....18.41  
 Terminal Publication .....23.99  
 Housing Exhibit Publication .....1,319.13  
 Publication Fund .....63.26  
 Neighborhood Center Publication Fund.....28.84  
 School Survey Fund .....271.50  
 .....7,465.98

\$223,552.04

## Expenses and Income for the Year Ended March 31st, 1916

## Fixed Charges:

## EXPENSES

Leasehold Ground Rent .....	\$10,150.00	
Taxes .....	5,340.00	
Fire and Employer's Liability Insurance.....	476.12	
Interest on Bonds and Loans.....	10,006.16	
		\$25,972.28

## Building Maintenance and House Expense:

House Employees' Wages .....	\$10,324.47	
House Employees' Meals .....	2,293.20	
Electric Power .....	1,595.28	
Electric Light .....	672.58	
Fuel .....	985.62	
Building Repairs, Etc. ....	218.47	
Uniforms .....	90.16	
General House Expense .....	1,818.27	
		18,098.05

## Administrative Expenses:

Office Salaries .....	\$ 4,574.70	
Stationery and Printing .....	1,159.58	
Postage .....	735.01	
Telephones .....	971.79	
Newspapers and Periodicals .....	245.49	
Premiums on Surety Bonds .....	66.00	
Entertainment .....	50.00	
Membership Extension Expense .....	69.62	
General Expense .....	551.28	
Membership in Organizations .....	13.00	
		8,436.47

## Departmental Accounts:

Restaurant, Operating Loss .....	\$ 3,354.53	
Add: Depreciation on Equipment:		
Kitchen Equipment .....	600.00	
Crockery and Utensils .....	621.62	
Linen .....	518.98	
Total Loss, Restaurant.....	\$ 5,095.13	
Less: Profit on Cigars .....	\$ 379.60	
Profit on Billiards .....	399.80	
	779.40	4,315.73

## Club House Depreciation:

Furniture and Fixtures .....	\$ 1,080.00	
House Linen .....	90.11	
		1,170.11

## Christmas Fund:

Distribution amongst Employees .....	1,751.44
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## Public Work:

*Provided from General Fund:*

Miscellaneous:	
Salaries of Civic Secretary and Assistants.....	\$5,286.71
Sundry Expenses .....	2,742.75
Bulletin .....	1,364.30
Library .....	713.98
	\$10,107.74

*Provided by Special Contributors:*

Through Route Publication .....	\$ 760.24	
Buildings and Grounds Exhibit .....	705.76	
Neighborhood Center Study and Publication Fund.....	186.16	
Competition Publication .....	124.36	
Burchard—Seymour .....	109.98	
Neighborhood Center .....	29.42	
Publication Fund .....	11.89	
School Survey Fund .....	8.50	
Housing Exhibit Publication .....	5.62	
Terminal Publications .....	1.66	
	1,943.59	12,051.33

\$71,795.41



## INCOME

Members' Dues .....	\$44,322.50	
Less: Reserve for Doubtful Accounts.....	1,329.70	
		\$42,992.80
Rents Receivable .....		4,143.04
Profit on Rental of Stereopticon .....		85.54
Christmas Fund:		
Donations Transferred to Cover Expenditures per Contra.....		1,751.44
General Contributions to Public Work.....		6,216.10
Special Contributions to Specific Items of Public Work to Cover Ex-		
penditures as per Contra .....		1,943.59
Loss for the Year Carried to Deficiency Account .....		14,662.90
		<u>\$71,795.41</u>

## Deficiency Account for the Year Ended March 31st, 1916

## CHARGES

Balance April 1st, 1915 .....	\$13,966.45
Dues for the Year 1912-13, 1913-14, 1914-15 written off.....	\$1,472.50
Less: Reserve to Cover Loss on Unpaid Dues at March 31st,	
1915 . . . . .	\$440.00
Recoveries on Dues, Previously Written Off.....	115.00
	<u>555.00</u>
	917.50
Loss for the Year Ended March 31st, 1916 .....	14,662.90
	<u>\$29,546.85</u>

## CREDITS

Special Fund .....	\$12,650.00
Balance March 31, 1916 .....	16,896.85
	<u>\$29,546.85</u>

Departmental Accounts for the Year Ended March 31st, 1916

CREDITS

Restaurant

Receipts from Members and Banquets.....	\$40,889.70
Guests .....	123.65
Employees' Meals .....	2,293.20
	<u>\$43,306.55</u>

CHARGES

Provisions Used .....	\$21,830.57
Kitchen Wages .....	8,856.07
Kitchen Expense .....	1,505.67
Dining Room Wages .....	9,126.04
Dining Room Expense .....	2,180.59
Manager's Salary (Proportion) .....	1,620.00
Cashier's Salary (Proportion) .....	1,140.00
Electric Light (Proportion) .....	402.14
	<u>46,661.08</u>

Operating Loss for the Year Before Considering Depreciation of Equipment ..... \$ 3,354.53

Cigars

Receipts from Members .....	\$ 4,731.95
	<u>                    </u>
Stock Used .....	\$3,672.39
Wages .....	579.96
Cigarette License .....	100.00
	<u>4,352.35</u>
Profit for the Year.....	<u>\$ 379.60</u>

Billiard Room

Receipts from Members .....	\$ 962.60
	<u>                    </u>
Wages of Attendant .....	\$ 480.00
Supplies .....	82.80
	<u>\$ 562.80</u>
Profit for the Year.....	<u>\$ 399.80</u>

Respectfully submitted,  
(Signed)

H. H. ROCKWELL, Treasurer.

Auditor's Certificate

We hereby certify that we have audited the Books of Account and Vouchers of the City Club of Chicago for the year ended March 31st, 1916, and that in our opinion the foregoing statements of Assets and Liabilities, Income and Expenses and Departmental Accounts accurately exhibit the Club's financial condition as at March 31st, 1916, and the result of its operation during the year ended that date. A detailed report covering our examination has been submitted to the Directors as of even date.

ERNEST RECKITT & Co.,  
Certified Public Accountants.

April 13th, 1916.

## CHICAGO'S TRANSPORTATION BLOCKADE

The needs of the city and particularly of the North Side in the way of better transportation and street circulation were the subjects of a talk before the City Club committees co-operating in the North Side study on February 29th by Tomaz F. Deuther, secretary of the Greater Chicago Federation. He said in part:

"The most striking peculiar feature in the conditions we find in Chicago is that the center of business is at a considerable distance from the center of population. Over one-half of the city's population live between Halsted street and Western avenue, a territory over two miles west of the business center, yet fully 80 per cent of the retail business of the city is transacted on State street in the downtown district.

"There are many community center districts in Chicago, all of which are inadequately served by transportation facilities, owing to the fact that these centers are not directly connected with each other.

"A serious difficulty is the lack of sufficient number of main north and south direct thoroughfares. The insufficiency of such streets in the downtown district has been discussed, but the lack of them is more apparent in the balance of the city. The cause of this is due to the interruptions to streets caused (1) by the river, as at Goose Island, where a great potential industrial district has deteriorated and remains undeveloped because of lack of adequate direct communication with the rest of the city; (2) by industrial plants, as, for instance, by the Deering Harvester Company plant, which with the river interrupts Robey street, and as the Stock Yards interrupts Racine avenue; and (3) by parks and boulevards, as is illustrated by Division street at Humboldt Park and Kedzie Boulevard at Logan Square. Goose Island should be improved with additional bridges and transportation; Robey street should be opened up through the Deering plant by a tunnel or a viaduct; and Division street should be extended through Humboldt Park as a depressed street. These are only a few instances of the interruptions in our street and

transportation systems, which make distance and lose time for the traveler by requiring him to travel a horseshoe route to reach his destination. The provision of direct through streets and transportation, therefore, is a first essential to the development, not only of the North Side, but of the entire city. Transportation should come ahead of schools and parks, for without it they could not exist, except in a most provincial way.

"Transportation in Chicago has always been developed only with reference to the loop. What business has an Ashland avenue or a Halsted street car on State street? Why should it be necessary for a person who wants to go from one part of the city to another be obliged to pass through the loop district? A sufficient number of direct north and south routes through the center of population should be provided so that community centers can have direct access with each other and thus multiply business prosperity.

"The elevated roads are the only present means of rapid transit and even they are routed on the same principle, that of providing direct to-and-from-the-loop travel. Why should it be necessary for a person who wants to travel by the elevated from one part of the city to another, to go through the downtown district? If the elevated lines outside the loop were connected according to a very practicable scheme, which has been worked out, a great north and south rapid transit route would be provided as far west as Ashland avenue, making the roundabout trip downtown unnecessary. A similar north and south elevated transit route should sometime in the future be established near Halsted street—the sooner, the better, as it is needed now.

"To illustrate the amount of traffic desiring to go directly north and south, compare the annual rides (year 1913) on the surface lines on Halsted street of over 75,000,000; on Ashland avenue of over 47,000,000; on Western avenue of over 41,000,000 with the total number of rides on the elevated, on *all of its branches*, which in 1913 amounted to about 165,000,000.

"The absurd methods in routing cars,

the chief cause of delay in travel, is very forcibly illustrated by the Surface Line Through Route No. 23. This route runs north and south, midway between Ha-

sted street and Ashland avenue, and traverses the most congested districts of the city. It has ten turns."

## CONSTITUTION-MAKING IN AMERICA

Frederick C. Howe, United States Commissioner of Immigration at the port of New York, and author of many well-known books on affairs of the day, addressed the Government Committee of the City Club on Thursday, March 16. He said in part:

"I am one of those who grew up in the age which accepted James Bryce's interpretation of American government. Bryce thought that our political troubles are due to our over-concern with money-getting. But we devote as much time to politics and read more of public affairs than the people of European countries do, and we would accomplish better things politically than they if given half a chance. The trouble is with our institutions and not with our citizenship.

"Most of the trouble, in fact, is due to Alexander Hamilton and the men of Hamilton's type of mind who framed our national and state constitutions and our city charters. It was the thought of these men to make democratic government impossible; the institutions they gave us were a frame-up against democracy. The only considerable dent we have made in the complex system of government which they gave us has been in our cities where the commission and city manager types of government have been adopted and where the old set of checks and balances, which prevent democratic government from becoming efficient, has been swept away.

"To simplify the machinery of government I would get rid of our bi-cameral legislatures and reduce their membership to the smallest possible number—perhaps not to exceed the number of congressmen. A large assembly has the advantage of representing many different points of view, and it may be desirable after a few years' of experience with small bodies to increase their size, but I think we may have to go through a period of small compact bodies as a means of doing away with some of the traditions—speechmaking, involved committee procedure, etc.—which now en-

cumber the conduct of legislative business. Government should have the freedom and fluidity of a business concern. A legislative body of three or four hundred simply cannot do business. Commission government has not produced perfect results, but I know of no city that has not been improved by its adoption.

"It ought to be as easy to change our constitutions and charters as to pass a law. This does not mean that we would change our constitutions over night. The French constitution can be changed easily at any time and no court in France can declare a law unconstitutional, yet in fifty years only two changes have taken place. There is hardly a country in the world which does not trust its people more than we do. Personally I would strip the constitution down to its simplest form; would make it as easy of amendment as a law—always providing, of course, for a referendum on constitutional changes—and would take away from the courts the power to declare acts of the legislature unconstitutional. The Ohio constitution requires a five-sixth vote of the court to declare a law unconstitutional."

Mr. Howe was asked why the people of New York voted down the proposed new constitution. He said: "I think the defeat of the constitution was due in large part to the feeling that it was a reactionary instrument framed by Root, Wickersham and others connected with the Wall Street interests and public utility companies. Labor was against it because labor was turned down by the convention on every one of the thirteen provisions for which it asked. Labor was opposed to the centralized budget under the governor on the ground that this would give the governor power to oppose appropriations for social and labor legislation. Tammany and nearly all democrats also opposed the constitution. In fact, when the votes were counted, it was found that nearly everybody was against it."

# The City Club Bulletin

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DWIGHT L. AKERS, Editor

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## CLUB NOTES

Ernest C. Smith has been appointed chairman of the City Club Committee on Labor Conditions to succeed Prof. Frederick S. Deibler, who has resigned.

The Directors have appointed the following standing committees for the current fiscal year:

*Public Affairs Committee:* George H. Mead, chairman, Samuel Adams, Edwin H. Cassels, O. C. Doering, William B. Hale, George E. Hooker and George C. Sikes.

*Admissions Committee:* Arthur B. Hall, chairman, Henry P. Chandler, F. H. Deknatel, George O. Fairweather, Richard T. Fox, James J. Forstall, Walter D. Herrick, James Mullenbach and Roy C. Osgood.

*House and Property:* S. Bowles King, chairman, M. H. Grassly, John H. R. Jamar and Charles Yeomans.

*Library:* George H. Mead, chairman, A. G. S. Josephson and Frederic Rex.

*Finance:* Wm. Scott Bond, chairman, Edgar A. Bancroft, O. C. Doering, Allen B. Pond and Harold H. Rockwell.

The City Club's four-evening symposium on The Ideals of Contemporary Life came to a close Friday, May 19. It was a success in every way. The programs and the exhibits were interesting and significant and the social features of the evenings were very enjoyable. The attendance each night was nearly 500, utilizing the entire capacity of the house.

John M. Curran has been appointed chairman of the City Club Committee on State Constitution to succeed William B. Moulton, who has resigned.

The following new members have joined the City Club since May 3rd:

Joseph H. Blake, Greenfield Tap & Die Corporation.

A. H. Borchers, fire insurance.

Rene D. Burtner, western sales manager, Narragansett Machine Company.

Christopher T. Chenery, engineer, Sanderson & Porter.

Ferdinando Cuniberti, student, University of Chicago.

Cecil F. Elmes, engineer, Sanderson & Porter.

S. T. Grant, W. D. Castro (cigars).

E. L. Holeman, real estate.

Harold R. Howes, engineer, C. I. & L. R. R.

Dr. George Kessel, Cresco, Iowa.

George Dresser Smith, lawyer.

P. K. Solger, Judson Freight Forwarding Company.

E. G. Trowbridge, physician.

J. B. Whidden, statistical department, Standard Oil Company.

William G. Woolfolk, engineer, Sanderson & Porter.

## CITY PLANNING BY DISTRICTS

Few subjects are of more interest to the home owner than the protection of his neighborhood against the invasion of businesses which, because of their smoke, dirt, noise or otherwise undesirable character, impair the home-like character of his surroundings. The creation of special residence neighborhoods from which such businesses are excluded is therefore a matter of prime concern to him. This is a common practice in Europe and is also being adopted now in an increasing number of American cities.

The results to be secured from "districting," however,—that is, the assignment of particular city areas to particular uses and types of occupation—are much greater even than the protection of residence neighborhoods against invasion. The creation of industrial districts in close connection with transportation facilities and workingmen's neighborhoods has been found in Europe and elsewhere to be convenient and productive of great economies in the conduct of industrial enterprises. Districts may also be established away from the congested centers of population in which the height of buildings or the proportion of the lot which a building may cover may be more closely restricted—thus securing a more open development and preventing in some measure the vicious circle by which congestion and increased land values perpetuate each other.

The subject of city planning by districts is of especial importance to Chicago at this time in view of the recent introduction in the City Council by Alderman Merriam of the draft of a proposed new state law relating to residence districts. If this law is approved by the City Council it will be sent to Springfield at the next session of the Legislature and an effort made to secure its enactment. The subject has been referred to the Council Committee on Judiciary. The Housing Committee of the City Club has been interested in the question for several years and has for the last half-year been devoting most of its attention to a consideration of plans for districting. It is at present gathering data in regard to Chicago con-

ditions which it believes will be of value in the final solution of this problem. Members of the Club will remember the interesting collection of "district" or "zone" plans shown in the Club's housing exhibit three years ago. The Chicago Plan Commission has also lately indicated its interest in the subject by a request addressed to the Corporation Counsel of Chicago, for an opinion on the legal questions involved.

One of the best authorities in America on the districting of cities is Frank B. Williams of New York, a member of the Advisory Commission on the City Plan of that city. He has been associated officially with the work of the New York Heights of Buildings Commission and of the Commission on Districts and District Regulations which is now engaged in districting the city. Mr. Williams addressed the City Club on March 15th. He said in part:

"In spite of the large amount of city land used for streets and other public purposes, the largest proportion of such land is still in private use. In order that the private uses of land may be brought to their highest efficiency, and in order that there may be a unity in the development of the city, it is necessary that some form of control and guidance for the use of private land be established. In some places the buildings are too large and tall for the streets on which they abut. In some cases there is no proper co-ordination between the transportation facilities and the districts they are intended to serve. This lack of unity between the public and private uses of land could be illustrated in many other ways if time permitted. It is to bring about such unity that districting is adopted as a method of city planning.

"The districting of cities is brought about mainly by the enforcement of building regulations, and these are of two sorts: One, the regulation of the bulk of buildings, such as the height in proportion to width of abutting street or the ground area of the building in proportion to the size of the lot; two, the regulation according to use, such as the assignment of certain areas for in-

dustries, others for residences, and so on.

"Let us take up the first of these methods of districting, the regulation of the bulk of buildings. The world has found that the regulation of the bulk of buildings is necessary as a means of reducing congestion. A certain amount of concentration is necessary in a city—that is what a city exists for—but too great concentration clogs business and results in congestion and inefficiency. The reason that the regulation of the bulk of buildings should be by districts rather than uniform throughout the city is that some areas require greater concentration than others. As we move out from the areas where this greater concentration is necessary and land values are high, more stringent regulations against overcrowding can be established. It may be very desirable to limit buildings in the outskirts of the city to two or three stories, but it would be impossible and absurd in Chicago to impose such a restriction at the center of the city where a more intensive use of land is required. The result of districting is to leave about the same relative burden on all sections of the city; a uniform classification benefiting certain sections would hinder the development of others.

"Now let us take up the other type of districting, regulation according to use. In this type of regulation the principal uses of the land are determined and districts for residences, business and industry are established. To some extent the areas of a city naturally allocate themselves to particular uses. Heavy industries naturally locate near the waterfront or the railroad lines and working class neighborhoods in proximity to industrial districts. In spite of this, however, it is necessary that favorable locations for residence neighborhood and industries should be protected and conserved for their particular uses. Often sporadic businesses which have no special advantage there spring up in residence neighborhoods; they have no place there and should be excluded. Heavy industries in particular should be kept out of residential neighborhoods and segregated in locations near good transportation.

"In laying out such districts it is very important that a proper relation between different districts shall be preserved and

that the districts shall at all times be related to the plan of the city as a whole. For instance, a residential district for workmen must be within reasonable distance of the industrial neighborhood where the work is performed.

"A number of cities, Minneapolis, Los Angeles, etc., have carried out partial districting, but the only attempt at comprehensive districting so far in America is that which is now being worked out in New York City by a special commission appointed for that purpose. This commission proposes the establishment of different areas in which different building heights in proportion to the width of abutting streets are allowed—ranging from an equal height in the outlying sections to two and a half times the width of the street in the areas of greater concentration. It is also proposed that the percentage of a lot which can be covered by a building should range from 30 per cent in outlying districts to 100 per cent in the business and industrial areas adjacent to the waterfront.

"The districting of cities may be carried out under the power of eminent domain or under the police power. The first of these two methods, however, is impractical because of the huge compensation that would have to be paid to carry out any districting scheme. Under the police power, however, no compensation would be necessary. It is urged that the lack of uniform regulations throughout the city is against the principle of equality and that districting on this account is illegal. In fact, the scientific districting of cities is aimed to bring about equality; the application of uniform regulations, on the other hand, does actually tend to produce inequality of burden. The Supreme Court of the United States has recently upheld the Massachusetts law affecting the districting of cities according to the bulk (height) of buildings, and in another decision has upheld the Los Angeles ordinance providing for the establishment of residential districts. The outlook for the application of this principle in our American cities is thus, so far as the legal questions are concerned, very promising at this time."

## THE "PREPAREDNESS" CAMPAIGN

Professor Howard L. Smith, of the Law School of the University of Wisconsin, addressed the City Club of Chicago, April 25th, 1916, on the subject of the preparedness campaign. He said:

"For certainly more than a century the United States has never been so well prepared for war as it is today. For more than one hundred years we have pursued our defenseless national way, our serenity clouded only by a civil war, and a couple of petty foreign wars of our own seeking; not once have we been attacked or seriously threatened with attack; nor has the reason for this been that we have never provoked attack. The Whig battle cry in the late forties was 'Fifty-four forty or fight.' But we did not get 'fifty-four forty,' for the boundary between us and British Columbia, nor did we fight. Since then we have quarreled with England several times over boundaries, over fishing and sealing rights, over the depredations of the Alabama, and last and most unjustifiably of all, over the boundary between Venezuela and the yellow-fever coast of Guiana.

"I do not recall any other first-class nation with which we have ever been on the brink of serious controversy during this period of unpreparedness; but we have had a career of happiness and prosperity such as the world never before dreamed of. We have become the shining example of a great industrial democracy, subordinating the state to the individual, instead of the individual to the state. Our population is nearly twice that of Germany, our nearest European competitor, with the exception of Russia, and twice that of Japan. Our national wealth, as compared with that of our principal competitors, is displayed in the following table, taken from the latest issue of the 'World Almanac':

United States .....	\$187,000,000,000
Great Britain .....	85,000,000,000
Germany .....	80,000,000,000
France .....	50,000,000,000
Russia .....	40,000,000,000

"We have easily greater wealth than any two of our competitors combined, and more than twice as much as any one.

"In short, the conditions that existed before the present war broke out raised a presumption in favor of our system and against theirs, that no man in his senses, not personally or professionally interested in the promotion of war, dreamed of questioning.

"We have always had, to be sure, a small class who have bemoaned our policy. Those whose profession is arms have never thought in this or any other country that their profession was sufficiently magnified, and never will think so. There never will come a time when captains do not thirst to be generals, and skippers to be admirals, and do not see the shortest way to promotion through increased military and naval activity; nor when the manufacturers of munitions and the materials of war do not see the shortest cut to greater profits along the same road.

"The financial stakes involved in the present propaganda are so huge as to be almost incapable of comprehension. We are expending at the present time about \$250,000,000 a year, not counting pensions, upon our army and navy. A 'Security League' has sprung up which demands that we make it \$550,000,000; while the Navy League will be satisfied with nothing less than \$750,000,000 annually, \$17,000,000 more than the entire ordinary expenditures of the government last year, outside of the postoffice, which pays its own way.

"But before we substitute the Marseillaise for 'Hail, Columbia, Happy Land,' we are certainly entitled to inquire:

### I. WHO THREATENS US?

"Nobody claims that Great Britain does or ever will. We are not likely to have any more acute differences with her in the future than in the past, and the long Canadian frontier of four thousand miles from Nova Scotia to the straits of Juan de Fuca, undefended on either side, from end to end, is at the same time a monument to past peace and a pledge for the future. If any further pledge be needed, it is at least suggested by the consideration that on the 31st of March, 1916, the public debt of Great



Britain was \$11,700,000,000, not quite fourteen per cent of the national wealth; and who shall say what it will be on the 31st of March, 1917?

"Indeed, one may pass over all other nations of Europe, excepting only Germany. Now, I am no apologist for the Germans; I reprobate the inconsiderate recklessness and inhumanity of their submarine warfare upon merchant vessels as much as anyone. If war could bring to life the two or three hundred American dead with whom German torpedoes have strewn the waters of the ocean, without strewing those waters and the fields of America and of Germany with millions of other dead, then I should favor war. But if this war has proven anything, has it not been the futility of war to right wrongs, real or imagined?

"We shall not have war with Germany, much as we dislike her frightful methods. After all, they have not been attempted from any hostility to us. They are the lashings out of a giant engaged in a death struggle, and careless of where his blows may fall.

"We shall be prevented from going into war with Germany by another circumstance, which it is folly to blink. We had, by the census of 1910, 8,282,618 people who were born in Germany or one or both of whose parents were born in that country, and more than two millions sustaining a like relationship to Austria. We shall never go to war with a country from which ten per cent of our population are so recently derived. Some think this an element of national weakness; but I do not. I hail every deterrent of aggressive war as an element of national strength, not weakness.

"America is an international community, strong, incomparably strong for purposes of defense, but weak, perhaps incomparably weak for offense.

"And if our present difficulties with Germany should result in war, what good will preparedness in 1925 or even in 1921, the earliest period fixed for even its partial completion, be to us? Long before then, we shall be congratulating ourselves over everything that relieved us from temptation to war with her, whether it be unpreparedness, or a descent upon us of the Holy Ghost.

## II. THE INVASION OF AMERICA BY JAPAN.

"When this is proposed, I labor under the disadvantage of having seen Japan, and find it difficult to listen seriously; but it is not necessary to see Japan to know something of her capacity or inclination for aggression upon the United States.

"Japan has less than the area of California, less than that of Illinois, Indiana, and Wisconsin combined. Of this area, seventeen per cent is estimated to be capable of cultivation; all the balance being practically worthless, for Japan has no mineral resources of any consequence. Their islands are picturesque stone piles, to the edge of which cling from fifty to sixty millions of admirable, lovable people, indomitably industrious, fanatically brave, with whom patriotism is a religion, wresting a reluctant livelihood from the insufficient soil, and depths of the ocean.

"But Japan is desperately poor, with all of its resources of credit and taxation strained to the utmost. It has a debt twenty-five per cent greater than that of the United States, upon which, however, by reason of its inferior credit, it pays an interest charge more than three times that of the United States. Taxation, direct and indirect, is estimated to amount to about one-third of the national income. The tax on land is 4.5 per cent upon agricultural lands, and 5.5 per cent upon all others, except land occupied by dwellings, which pays two and one-half per cent. The income tax ranges from four to thirteen per cent on all incomes exceeding two hundred dollars; but there are only eighteen incomes in the islands exceeding fifty thousand dollars.

"By means of this confiscatory taxation, Japan manages to raise a revenue of \$233,000,000, against \$734,000,000 for the same year raised from a taxation which is scarcely felt in the United States. Add to this that five thousand miles of stormy water separates Japan and the United States, that all her interests and aspirations are in Asia, and then picture to yourselves, if you can, the state of nervous excitement and hysteria which imagines a threat of Japanese invasion.

### III. OBJECTIONS TO MILITARY PREPAREDNESS

"First, the expense. I have adverted to that, but it is not sufficiently realized, for the advocates of preparedness are saying nothing about it, and talk as if it didn't cost anything. But when sugar is ten cents a pound, and the income tax is doubled, and bank checks and theater and railroad tickets and every box of matches has to be stamped, and automobiles and gasoline are all taxed to maintain a huge army and navy, it is likely that many thrifty people who have been carried away by the cries of the professional patriots, the promoters, the moving pictures and the subsidized newspapers, will begin to inquire more carefully than they have ever done before, whether the game is worth the candle.

"Second. The greatest objection to a huge standing army and navy is that all history proves it to be provocative of war. There is no such thing as a defensive army or a defensive navy. In private life no one doubts the principle; every one of us is forbidden to carry concealed weapons, because experience shows that he will use his means of defense for purposes of offense.

"Our own history amply illustrates the same principle. Our historians blush when they write the history of our ignoble war with Mexico; just as those of the future will when they tell about poor, weak, pathetic McKinley complaining that congressmen were standing over him with a stop-watch, insisting upon war, in order that our new navy, full of captains panting for promotion, might be tried out against decrepit Spain.

"'Preparedness' took us to Vera Cruz less than two years ago, at a fruitless cost of six million dollars, and the engendering of untold international hatred. 'Preparedness' now has us chasing a bandit far in the interior of Mexico, at a cost already voted of eight millions of dollars, with no possibility of success, but only the imminent certainty of international embroilment.

"And so it has ever been. I would not, if the destiny of this country were in my hands, accept as a gift a fully

equipped army and navy, with an endowment to maintain it for all time; for I should know full well that it would ultimately be used for purposes which all judicious men would ultimately regret.

### IV. PREPAREDNESS AS INSURANCE

"An army and navy insurance against war! Yes, if gasoline is insurance against fire; and even the merchant who takes out insurance, hesitates if the premium is 150 per cent and the company insolvent.

"What has been our experience with this form of insurance? We have spent within the last ten years upon the army and navy, irrespective of pensions, as follows:

Navy .....	\$1,218,202,202
Army .....	1,533,018,782
Total .....	\$2,751,220,984

"Two and three-quarter billions of dollars in ten years! This is a tidy premium, but if we have had the insurance, perhaps it is worth it.

"But the whole burden of the present campaign for preparedness is that we have not had insurance; that if a conflagration had broken out, we should have been ruined. From this the conclusion is drawn that the only remedy is to take out more policies with the same insurers, at a bigger premium.

### V. MILITARY EFFICIENCY IMPOSSIBLE IN THE UNITED STATES.

"The truth probably is that no possible amount of expenditure will give us an efficient military and naval establishment. For some purposes—for purposes of aggression, no doubt this spells national inefficiency. But it spells also the development of individual character and independence, more suitable to the needs of industrial democracy, not in bondage to the God of War. Our international strength will ever lie in the justness of our aims, in the moderation of our ambitions, the transparent uprightness of our international conduct, our isolation, and the inexhaustible reservoirs of our potential strength."



## THE PRESIDENT AND "PREPAREDNESS"

Following President Wilson's recent tour of the midwestern states in the interest of his "preparedness" policies, the New York Evening Press commissioned Victor Yarros of Chicago to make an investigation of the influence of this tour on public opinion in the communities visited—its general success and probable effect on the "preparedness" propaganda and upon the political chances of Mr. Wilson and his party. Mr. Yarros on April 3rd, in an address at the City Club told the results of his investigations.

Mr. Yarros visited in the order named, Milwaukee, Cleveland, Des Moines, Kansas City, St. Louis and Topeka, about ten days after the President's tour. In Milwaukee, he found sentiment about evenly divided—the American element being for "preparedness" and the Germans against it, mainly, perhaps, because of their feeling that the "preparedness" propaganda is largely anti-German.

In Cleveland there was no division along these national lines, and superficial investigation indicated that there was little anti-"preparedness" sentiment in Cleveland, although closer inquiry developed the fact that among labor leaders and various foreign groups considerable opposition existed. The business men were for it, although they knew very little about particular schemes and were entirely willing to leave these to Congress.

Des Moines, the center of a great farming community, was found to be largely "anti," farmers being either against "preparedness" or utterly indifferent to it. The farmers' prosperous condition in these times of high prices may, of course, have something to do with this. As in Cleveland, the business men were for "preparedness" and the labor men against it. The same condition was found in Kansas City.

In St. Louis, hardly anyone spoke in favor of universal military service, although some of the educators were in favor of school military drill as a moral discipline for young people. Mr. Yarros found more criticism of the President in St. Louis than in any other city, his

trip being generally considered a political move. Even the anti-"preparedness" radicals, who had previously seen in the President's attitude an opportunist position taken to ward off a more extreme military program, were bitterly disappointed with the President's advocacy of a big navy.

In Topeka, it was almost impossible to find any "preparedness" sentiment, and the Governor told Mr. Yarros that not one person in ten there is for it.

Mr. Yarros' conclusion was that the President's trip had on the whole from a personal point of view been a success, but considering that it was the President who spoke and that the moment chosen was one of tragic significance, with all Europe at war and complications for America threatening, it could hardly have been anything else. It was an easy triumph.

The President's appeal, he found, was generally regarded as illogical, lame and vague—unfair to the people, for he laid down no definite program of "preparedness" which the people could judge and approve or reject. He did not say for what or in what precise manner America should be prepared. His statement on the one hand that he was dealing with an immediate danger and on the other hand that there was not an hour to be lost was very confusing to the public mind. Some people thought that the argument was made deliberately vague in order to rally to the President all elements of the population.

Mr. Yarros found that in none of communities visited was there any public panic and that the people were generally willing to let Congress determine the kind and amount of "preparedness" needed. If the President had stayed in Washington and made his appeal to Congress he would probably have rallied as much public support to his cause as he did by his trip, and would probably have avoided the back fire which started as a result of his vague and illogical arguments.

## RECONSTRUCTION AFTER THE WAR

One of England's literary men who has taken a leading part as a publicist in the discussion of the international arrangements which should take place following the war is G. Lowes Dickinson of London, author of "Appearances," "Justice and Liberty," and a number of other well-known books. Mr. Dickinson recently visited Chicago, and on April 5 addressed the City Club on "The Reconstruction After the War."

"America," Mr. Dickinson said, "has a great part to play in the history of Europe and of civilization. The people of Europe cannot at this time think dispassionately or take a long view. America, further from the scene of conflict, can consider calmly and intelligently the conditions which will have to be met, and the international arrangements that will be necessary to prevent a recurrence of the European tragedy."

"The nations of Europe and the world are today in a condition of anarchy. It is as if there were in civil society no police or courts of law—as if every civil dispute were fought out and settled by strength rather than determined in a peaceable, legal manner under constitutional government."

"Europe's upheaval is worse than anarchy, it is armed anarchy, and armaments were a direct cause of it. Contrary to the axiom of the militarists that in time of peace we should prepare for war, I suggest that armaments are in themselves a contributory cause of war. The axiom that armaments are a form of national insurance looks well from the point of the individual nation, which sees itself surrounded by jealous enemies who would seek to destroy or cripple it. But when each nation or group of nations carries out this policy, the argument reduces itself to an absurdity for, to keep the peace, each nation would have to be stronger than any other."

"The armament competition imposes a great burden upon the nations and creates among them an atmosphere of universal fear productive of international suspicion and conflict. The nations do not trust each other, as the negotiations before the war plainly

showed. Each nation in these negotiations scrutinized the words of the other to discover evidences of chicanery and deceit. With such distrust, the negotiations were almost bound to fail.

"The great armaments of the world are instruments in the hands of a few dozen men—ambassadors, kings and presidents. These men work absolutely in the dark, and almost without our knowing it tumble us into war. Nowhere is there democratic control of foreign policy—even in the nations called democratic. In the smallest matters of domestic concern we insist on democratic control, but we hand without question our lives, our children's lives, and our property, over to this autocratic group. If the men who control our foreign politics were always thoroughly scrupulous and honest this might not be so dangerous to us, but diplomatic history—with its record of trickery, forged documents, etc.—does not reassure us on this point. A single unscrupulous statesman might easily plunge the nations into war."

"The nations must devise some means of stopping this armament race and of taking the control of the world's destinies out of the hands of these few men. Unless some new form of international organization is devised to prevent it, a war even more terrible than this may come, for in the interval of peace the nations will devote all their energies toward the invention of new instruments of murder. Every trace of international morality will be wiped out by a deliberate process of education, and the entire energies of the nations will be bent to the object of preparing for a new test of arms."

"What is America going to do in this world crisis? It is natural for you to say, looking across the water upon the universal massacre that is taking place in Europe, that you need defenses—that you must arm. But what will the other nations think when they see America arming? They will ask, 'Whom is America building against?' About ten years of a big naval program—building and counterbuilding between England and America—will strain the relations

between these two countries as badly as they were strained between England and Germany when the crash came in 1914.

"A world state is as far in international organization as it is possible to go, but even this will not provide a guarantee against all possible wars. Even a constitutional government is subject to civil war. Besides, a world state is too remote a possibility at this time—there is at this time scarcely enough affinity between the nations and races of the world for this. So practical men must think of some more feasible, immediate plan for the modification of international relations.

"A very moderate but progressive program along this line has been suggested. Under this plan it is proposed that the nations shall enter into treaty relations to establish an international court of justice and a conciliation board, and shall pledge themselves to commit no hostile act in any international dispute until the points at issue have been submitted to these bodies for investigation and judgment. It is proposed that the nations entering this agreement shall bind themselves to combine against any nation that breaks this treaty by an armed attack upon any other nation prior to the submission of its case. Such a treaty would be respected, because it is plain that any nation would carefully count the cost of

antagonizing all the other nations before committing a breach of the peace.

"To mark the aggressor is a very important thing in international relations, and a treaty of the sort I have described would tend to do this, for the refusal of any nation to submit its case to arbitration would single it out as the aggressor.

"A peace league of the nations with judicial machinery such as I have described would bring about sufficient delay in the settlement of disputes that the motives and purposes behind them could be thoroughly determined. And when the nations have time to determine what vital interests they have at stake, time to understand conditions and causes, wars are less likely to occur.

"I do not, of course, contend that this plan would do away entirely with war. Under it, however, any nation acting as an aggressor would go to war under adverse conditions and without allies. It would, I think, go far to prevent international conflict.

"I do not believe that the nations will abandon their armaments after the war, but I do think they may be brought to agree to some all-round reduction. The beginnings of security, however, must be provided for each nation before any extensive disarmament will take place. Such security the plan I have mentioned would tend to bring about."

## "SERBIA AND THE WAR"

Mr. Chedo Mijatovich, former Serbian ambassador to England, addressed the members of the City Club on Friday, March 24, on "Serbia and the War". Mr. Mijatovich has been in the service of the kingdom of Serbia since 1869. He took part in the founding of the present kingdom and has held many responsible posts in the ministry and the diplomatic service of his country, including the Ministry of Finance and Commerce and of Foreign Affairs. Besides numerous other diplomatic missions he has four times been ambassador to England, three times in Victoria's reign and once in the time of Edward VII. He is author of several works on political economy and several books of

fiction—some of them in English. He said in part:

"In this great and terrible tragedy of the European war Serbia has suffered a terrible misfortune, but this is not the worst tragedy she has suffered in her history and she is not crushed. Three times she was able to push back the invading armies of Austria, only to be attacked by another enemy, the terrible scourge of typhus. It was then that America came to the rescue and through her help the country was practically cleared of this scourge. Serbia will never forget what American assistance meant in this hour of trouble.

"The charges that Serbia brought on this war are absurd. Prior to this Serbia

had been in three great wars. Her people had won the respect of the world as good soldiers, but she had spent practically all of her ammunition and supplies. No country had greater need of peace when this war broke out than Serbia. King Peter himself told me that the nation was in no condition to enter war and could not be ready for another three years. Serbia wanted peace.

"The explanation of the Serbian tragedy in this war and throughout her history is that she is located on the route from Central Europe to Asia Minor and has had to stand as a buffer against invasions from both directions. From 1350 to 1464, Serbia was fighting to stem the Mohammedan invasion of Europe and when she finally had to give in, the Turks swept clear to the gates of Vienna and would have gone beyond had it not been for the exhaustion due to the previous Serbian wars. The case is now

reversed. Germany wants to open the pathway to Asia Minor and invasion is from the opposite direction. Serbia stood in the way and has been the object of German attack.

"The Serbians are the most democratic people in Europe and our democracy is safe because we have economic as well as political freedom. There is no peasant who is not a landed proprietor. Each peasant owns a minimum of property which cannot be sold for any reason whatever. No man has less than five acres. We have no millionaires, it is true, but on the other hand no very poor people. Other democratic features of Serbia's national life are compulsory free education and the obligation of all citizens to render military service to their country."

In closing Mr. Mijatovich made a plea for American sympathy for Serbia and for its support in the peace settlement which is to come.

## THE PEACE SHIP

"Many of the finest things in the world have been accomplished by foolish idealists who have rushed in where angels feared to tread, while others have stood around wondering what to do." So Rev. William E. Barton, presiding at a meeting of the City Club on March 23, referred to the Ford peace expedition which has recently been a subject of so much humorous and caustic comment by the American press and public. The occasion of this meeting was an address by Jenkin Lloyd Jones, a member of the expedition. Mr. Jones told the story of "The Peace Ship". He said in part:

"American journalism met its yellowest level in reporting this excursion. The European estimate of the Ford peace expedition is very different from that of the American people, forced as they have been to draw their conclusions from the only source of information available—the press. Instead of having their attention fixed upon the real purpose and significance of the expedition, their minds have been directed to the externalities of the expedition and to the minor disagreements of members of the party. That such a group, made up of

one hundred and sixty people, gathered in a hurry with a minimum of discretion and a maximum of enthusiasm, could get along without some disagreement is hardly to be expected. As a matter of fact, an expedition organized, as some of its critics think it ought to have been organized, conservatively and with its personnel carefully weighed, would probably never have gotten started.

"The Ford peace expedition has been likened to the Crusades—even to the Children's Crusade—but do not forget that the Crusades paved the way for the highways of Europe. The results of this expedition may be far more significant than its critics realize. The men and women who joined it were in earnest, and the people of Europe recognized this and treated them accordingly. We believe that the expedition justified itself in, at least, shocking the world into an understanding that the United States is not so sordid as to smother its conscience for the sake of war profits.

"The four neutral countries and seven large cities that we visited received us uniformly with respect and courtesy, and the press tried to find out our mes-

sage and to deliver it faithfully. In every city visited the party was received by the important and representative people of the community, and numerous crowded meetings were held at which members were enabled to explain their mission. These meetings were arranged by many different groups: public officials, university people, socialist and labor organizations, ministers' associations, clubs of various kinds, and so on. Nowhere was the party received with anything but the highest consideration."

Mr. Jones indicated that he had little confidence that anything done by the permanent commission organized by the Ford peace party would have any large influence with the belligerent powers,

because the American newspaper reporters have "queered" the expedition and created the impression abroad that the enterprise has no support among the American people.

"In neutral Holland, "Mr. Jones said, "three hundred thousand men are at present under arms. Many of the school houses are closed to provide barracks for these men. The country is groaning under the weight of it. Holland has no desire to increase its army, and the other nations of Europe are learning their lesson. If Europe is facing in the direction of disarmament, Heaven forgive the United States if, at this critical time, it should face the other way."

## OUR STATE GOVERNMENTS

Prof. A. R. Hatton of the Western Reserve University, Cleveland, addressed the City Club, March 30, on "What is Wrong with our State Governments." He said:

"You will remember the famous dictum of Lord Bryce as to the conspicuous failure of the government of American cities. As a matter of fact, the large American city today is far better governed, either from the standpoint of democracy or efficiency, than is the average state. That is due in part, I suppose, to the fact that the cities were the first element of government to feel the pressure of modern problems and conditions. It was there that the impact of our new economic life was first felt. But it is a sad commentary upon state government that, when the cities found it necessary to turn their attention to their own problem, one of the first things they found it necessary to do was to free themselves as far as possible from state control. This is the explanation of the widespread demand for 'home rule' for cities.

"Government, as I see it, consists, first, of the expression of the sovereign will, and, second, of the execution of that will. In this country, however, particularly in our states, the government has failed to serve these two purposes. That is the reason for the demand for direct legislation—the movement of the

people to take government into their own hands. In spite of this demand, however, there has, strangely enough, been very little effort to cure the obvious defects of the existing state organization. The very people who have opposed the adoption of direct legislation and the recall have very frequently opposed the bettering of the organization of the representative system.

"The organization of our state governments is not of the sort that would commend itself to a logical mind or to a mind which had any conception of the work to be done. The American people, in all things except politics, are perhaps the most inventive people on the earth. We approach business problems by first inquiring into the nature of the work to be done and by then turning our minds to the perfecting of an organization to do that particular kind of work. In politics and government, on the other hand, we accept a traditional organization and assume that, regardless of the work to be performed, that organization must do it better than any other.

"In most states we elect, besides the governor, a great many other executive officials. When a governor assumes office, he takes an oath to execute faithfully the laws of the state. And yet anyone who examines the constitutions and codes of our various states must know that any governor who takes that

oath promises to do the impossible. In the first place, the governor is not the whole of the executive power. He must depend upon the co-operation of elective officers over whom he has no control and who are under no obligations to co-operate with him. Frequently, even when there is no difference in party, some official, to gain political advantage, will deliberately set himself up in opposition to the governor.

"Again, in large measure, the laws of our American states depend for their execution upon men elected in counties, townships and cities, over whom the governor has next to no control. In most instances, the only control over them in their administration of state laws is that which comes through the slow and cumbersome process of the courts—and, in nine cases out of ten, before a suit against one of these officers can be settled, all reason for the action has disappeared.

"If a governor is honest and really wishes to carry out his campaign promises, he very often finds, for the reasons I have indicated, that it is impossible for him to do so. On the other hand, many governors who are entirely insincere in their promises, after being elected to office make a showy display of trying to enforce the law, and, having failed, blame it on the system. The consequence is that the people have put up and pulled down one governor after another until they have come to feel that it doesn't make any difference who the governor is, or whether they have any governor at all, and that they must take action in their own hands. The present system courts inefficiency and insincerity, and encourages hypocrisy on the part of the governor.

"In all of our American states we elect a legislative body of two houses. Its members are elected presumably because they are adherents of a particular party, which stands for some policy in the state government. Now it often happens that when a party gets into power, pledging the enactment or repeal of certain laws, a bill that would carry out a part of the obligations of the platform is introduced in the senate and another bill carrying out another part of the obligations is introduced in the house. Each house passes its bill, only

to have it fail in the other house. The consequence is that practically none of the pledges are carried out and the people don't know where to place the responsibility.

"And what of the laws that are passed by the American legislatures? I hold in my hand the session laws of Illinois for 1915. The bulk of the legislation felt to be necessary for the British empire in 1914, the year of great crisis, when an enormous number of readjustments were necessary, was just about half that of the laws of the Illinois legislature for 1915. There is too much legislation and the system as it now exists furthers that undesirable end. The system discourages leadership in the legislature—and until we have learned in this country to develop strong, wise and democratic leadership, we shall be floundering further and further in the direction of irresponsible and inefficient government.

"Of legislation which is positively corrupt and legislation that is positively ridiculous, illustrations can be found at random. Some of this is due to mere carelessness in drafting. Several years ago I assisted in drafting a law in Ohio to make available, in various cities, three optional forms of city government. Much to my surprise after the law had been passed, with some emasculation, I found that its most important section contained some language that had apparently no reference to anything in the bill at all and which made the law absolutely unusable.

"Now what of the remedies: In the first place, if we are going to elect governors, we should elect no other executive state official. A governor should have power to appoint other executive officials after the manner of the President in appointing his cabinet. If it is necessary to make an exception in the case of the auditor, let him be chosen by the state legislature. I would be perfectly willing to leave the appointment to the governor. Most people who object to that, fail to recall that we have no real distinct department of audits in the federal government, that it is merely a division of the department of the treasury. And we never have had a financial scandal in the whole history of the federal government.



"In the second place, I would provide that the governor should sit with the legislature; that he should have the right to discuss measures that come before the legislature and to introduce bills; that he should be required to formulate and introduce the annual budget. What business would so organize itself that it would never permit the general manager to meet with the board of directors or communicate with them except in writing? And yet that is the ridiculous system that we have in our state and national government.

"What would be the result if the governor were permitted to sit with the legislature and to introduce bills. In the first place, the legislature would get its information direct and at a great saving of time. In the second place, the governor would become the responsible head of a party, which could be held absolutely responsible for carrying out its platform obligations, for if members of the legislature did not introduce the bills, the governor would be expected to introduce them. In the third place, it would provide for a responsible executive, for the governor would hold the legislature up to the performance of its duty, and the members of the legislature would demand from the governor an explanation of his administrative acts and policies. I am not suggesting anything radical. I am suggesting something that has already been found to work well in cities which have in a degree broken these shackles of the old traditional system.

"Next, I can see no reason why we should have two Houses in a state Legis-

lature. It would make for both democracy and efficiency if we would forthwith abolish one house. The two-house system has merely made for irresponsibility. It has permitted parties to avoid their pledges. It has resulted in inefficiency and poorly drafted legislation. The argument commonly made for a two-house legislature is that if a bill is defective it can be improved in the second house. In ninety-nine cases out of one hundred the bill deteriorates in quality by going to a second house, for it makes both bodies careless. Just across the border, the provincial governments are operating with one house of the legislature. Practical politicians in Canada have told me, without exception, that the present system is a great improvement over the two-house system.

"No mere scheme of organization will give us good government, but it is very desirable, nevertheless, to create systems of government that are so simple that the people can see what they are doing. One of the best ways of policing a city is to light it. If we can create a government so simple that the light of publicity will shine through it, a great many of the difficulties that we now complain of will not exist.

"All we want is to give the people a chance to secure as good government as they are capable of. More than that we have no right to ask under a democracy. When a thoroughly simple democratic scheme of government fails to cure our political ills, the only hope is found in the spread of better sense."

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## THE ASHTABULA PLAN

In the last two decades we have had a succession of new plans of city government, the "Galveston" and "Des Moines" plans of commission government, the "Dayton City Manager Plan," and others not so well known. The latest wrinkle is the "Ashtabula plan." This is the City Manager plan modified by the election of the council by an electoral system designed to secure to all elements of the population representation in proportion to their voting strength and by the can-

didates they really prefer. The electoral system used in Ashtabula, which is known as the "Hare system" of proportional representation, is not new, nor is it applicable only to municipal councils. It is in use for the election of legislative bodies in South Africa, Tasmania, and Denmark, and it is embodied in the Home Rule Act, recently passed by the British Parliament, for the election of the Senate and part of the House of Commons to be set up in Ireland at the

close of the war. Its first application in America was for the election, on November 2, 1915, of the city council of Ashtabula, Ohio.

Mr. John H. Humphreys, secretary of the Proportional Representation Society of Great Britain, who was returning to England, via Canada and this country, after visiting Australia and New Zealand in connection with recent legislation embodying proportional representation, spoke on this subject at the City Club on March 9. On the previous day Mr. C. G. Hoag, general secretary of the American Proportional Representation League, addressed the Government Committee on the same subject, with special reference to American conditions. Mr. Hoag said, in part:

"There are three distinct systems of electing representative bodies: (1) election by single-member districts; (2) election at large with the provision that each voter shall have as many votes as there are seats to be filled, and (3) proportional representation.

"Election by single-member districts makes possible minority control, as the results depend largely upon the way in which the votes happen to be distributed among the districts. Moreover, the shift of a few votes in close districts may change the whole complexion of the council.

"The ordinary system of election at large is even worse than the ward system, as it permits the largest group of voters to secure all the representatives, so that all other groups get none. Thus the council becomes not a representative body at all but a mere executive committee of the largest group of voters.

"The principle underlying proportional representation is that each member of a representative body should be elected by a unanimous constituency of voters numerous enough to have a right to elect one member. This system differs from the ward system only in the nature of the constituency that elects each member; under the ward system the constituency—in the case of a council of nine, say—is a ninth of the voters who live together and think differently; under the proportional system it is a ninth of the voters (approximately) who live anywhere in the city, but think alike.

"It is evident that if the members of a city council are elected by unanimous constituencies thus, each group or party of voters will secure neither more nor fewer seats than its voting strength entitles it to.

"The indispensable condition of carrying out the proportional system," said Mr. Hoag, "is to elect the council either at large or by districts, each one of which is to have several members. It is also necessary that, no matter how many councilors are being elected in the city or district in question, each voter shall have but one vote—the same number that he would have under the ward system. In order that the desired number of constituencies, approximately equal in size, may be built up by means of the ballots cast, it is found desirable to allow the voter to express his choices among the candidates preferentially, using the figure 1 for his first choice, the figure 2 for his second choice, etc. With ballots thus marked (for as many or as few choices as the voters care to express) there is no difficulty in building up, in strict accordance with the will of the voters as expressed on their ballots, as many constituencies as there are seats to be filled. If any candidate receives more first-choice votes than are necessary to insure his election, the ballots in excess of the number needed are passed on to other candidates, each in accordance with the will of the voter, as expressed on it. Then the weakest candidates are successively eliminated and their ballots transferred in like manner, each to the next highest preference of the voter who cast it, until the number of constituencies is reduced to the number of the seats. Of course, only the first choices are counted at the precincts, the necessary transfers being all made at the electoral headquarters of the entire district.

"Under this system," said Mr. Hoag, "the voter dares to express his real will, for the device of the transferable vote makes it possible for him to make sure that, if his favorite candidate is defeated, his vote will count nevertheless for his next highest preference among the candidates who can make use of it. Thus the system gives the voter a new freedom. It assures control to the majority, due representation to all substantial minorities, and the election of

the candidates personally preferred by the several groups of voters.

"Proportional representation must not be confused with the 'preferential voting' system, which has been introduced in a number of American communities. This latter system is designed to elect officials by majority instead of by mere plurality. Even this purpose it carries out only imperfectly. It is not intended to secure proportional representation."

Mr. Humphreys, secretary of the Proportional Representation Society of Great Britain, who spoke at the Club on March 9, said in part:

"The object of proportional representation is to make Congress, state legislatures, and city councils fully and fairly representative of all who vote. The present system gives no such guarantee. The minority, large or small, in any district which elects but one member cannot obtain representation; thus large minorities may be permanently cut off from the representative body. In the city of Adelaide, Australia, every member elected belongs to the Labor Party, the remainder of the citizens, numbering 40 per cent, having no prospect of ever electing a representative. In British Columbia the Conservatives have all the seats. Such monopoly encourages corruption.

"The present system, so unjust to minorities, is frequently quite as unfair to majorities. Under it the results of elections depend upon the way in which political forces are distributed. In the congressional elections of 1912 the Democrats of Indiana, with 46 per cent of the votes, elected all thirteen congressmen. In the same year the Democrats of Illinois polled 461,185 votes and obtained twenty seats; the Progressives polled 251,556 votes, but obtained only two seats. In other words, it required five times as many votes to elect a Progressive congressman as to elect a Democratic congressman.

"The retention in the City Council of able representatives desired by large numbers of citizens now depends upon

their ability to win a strenuous personal fight in a local ward. The new system abolishes ward politics, renders mud-slinging useless, compels candidates to fight on policies, makes the council fully representative, and allows each party or group of voters to obtain representation through the candidates they most prefer.

"The proportional system most suitable for city elections is that recently adopted by the city of Ashtabula, Ohio. It is known as the Hare system. To use this system Chicago would be divided into a few large electoral districts, each electing several aldermen. Each elector would have one vote. This would allow only one-seventh of the electors in a district electing seven members to secure a representative. An alderman would retain his seat if at the next election he still polled one-seventh of the votes. This affords reasonable security of tenure and will attract good candidates. The single vote in the large district thus guarantees representation to minorities. The vote is made transferable to prevent any wastage of votes and to insure the rule of the majority. The transfers of the votes are controlled by the preferences expressed by the voters. Votes given to any candidate in excess of the number required for election are transferred to the next choice of those who voted for the successful candidate.

"This system, unlike the minority system in use in electing the legislature of Illinois, is most flexible. Wherever it has been tried there has never been an uncontested election. Its results so far are that it is finding increasing favor in all parts of the British dominions and will be applied to parliamentary elections in Ireland when the Home Rule Bill comes into operation. The system has the active support of most of the leading municipal reformers of this country, as well as of such eminent Europeans as Viscount Bryce, President Poincaré of France, Premier Briand of France, and the leading statesmen of Belgium, Sweden, Denmark and Holland."



## THE DAYTON "COMMISSION-MANAGER" PLAN

The plan of employing experts, irrespective of residence and political affiliation, as the administrative heads of cities, is very common in Europe. Until recently, however, American cities have held very strictly to the plan of electing their mayors and even minor officials, men generally of political rather than administrative fitness. Under the Commission-Manager plan of city government, adopted in recent years by many cities in this country as an improvement on the commission plan, the administrative side of the city government is in charge of a manager employed by the commission—a small elective body which determines the policies of the city. The city manager is supposed to be a man of special training and may be employed from any part of the country. The city with which the Commission-Manager plan is most prominently identified in the public mind is Dayton, Ohio. On March 17, J. N. Switzer, of the Dayton city commission, spoke before the City Club on Dayton's experience with the Commission-Manager plan. He said in part:

"Dayton is a manufacturing city, and when our people began to inquire how efficiency and economy might be developed in city work they turned to their industries for an example. They endeavored to work out a business plan of government, and finally decided to organize the city work somewhat along the lines of an industrial concern. As the board of directors of such a concern employs a general manager and relies upon him for results, the city commission under the Dayton plan employs a city manager, fitted by training and experience for getting the best results in administration. The city manager is subject at all times to the commissioners, of whom there are five, elected at large on a non-partisan ballot. This plan has

the advantage of centralizing authority and fixing responsibility. Another big advantage is that there are no frequent election changes to interfere with the big program of work that may be planned and carried through.

"Much attention is devoted to bringing the city's affairs home to the citizens and giving them a better understanding of what their city is doing for them. The city's work is constantly being discussed by the commissioners before improvement associations, men's clubs, etc. A recent municipal exhibit arranged by the city attracted much public attention. Boards of citizens, dealing with such subjects as civil service, city planning, markets, the building code and revision of street names and numbers, have been formed to co-operate with the city government, serving without pay.

"Politics is not allowed to enter into the administration of city affairs. In the safety department there was no head for over a year, because the right man could not be found at once to direct it—the city manager in the meantime looking after its operation. How many times under the old political system would an office paying a \$4,000 salary remain vacant until the most competent man could be found to fill it?"

Mr. Switzer gave a rapid survey, illustrated by lantern slides, of important results accomplished in Dayton under the new system. He showed instances of improvements in the accounting system and general financial management of the city, of savings effected by better methods of purchasing, of physical improvements planned or completed, such as new sewer and garbage plants, of the development of public welfare activities, including better care of the public health, which has already seen results in a decreased death rate, particularly among infants.



## THE HOUSTON TAX PLAN

J. J. Pastoriza, Commissioner of Taxes, Houston, Texas, addressed the City Club on May 8, on the Houston plan of taxation. He said:

"The Houston plan provides for full assessment of land values for taxation, partial assessment of buildings and no assessment of bank deposits, credits and certain other forms of personal property. The constitution of Texas provides that all property, real, personal and mixed, be assessed for taxation at its full cash value.

"When I took office as land and tax commissioner in 1911 tax dodging was as prevalent in Houston as it is in other places where the general property tax system prevails. Since each man did his own valuing the result was great inequality and unfairness. Big land holders were favored at the expense of small home owners, and of the few who made a comparatively fair return of personal property.

"So we started to institute the Houston plan. Land and buildings were reassessed under the Somers system. Land was entered on the rolls at full value, improvements at 25 per cent of value and notes, bank deposits and household goods were omitted altogether. Street railway franchises were assessed for the first time in the history of the city.

"Full publicity was given to this change. The knowledge that money in bank would not be taxed brought to the Houston banks many deposits from other cities, and local money that had been hoarded. A building boom set in. The population of the city increased, while house rents decreased. In 1910, the year before the Houston plan was put in operation, the city directory contained 50,490 names. In 1913 the directory contained 70,881 names, an estimated increase in population of over 25,000. From 1911 to 1913 bank deposits increased over \$7,000,000.

"On the issue of continuing the Houston plan, in spite of the opposition of a few land speculators, I was re-elected in 1913 and again in 1915 by overwhelming majorities. The last time the

vote was 3 to 1. A number of Texas cities began to imitate the Houston plan.

"Notwithstanding the general satisfaction which the plan gave, a few land speculators declared they would destroy it. One of these filed a suit, claiming that it was unconstitutional, and obtained from the court a judgment, and an order that the city of Houston tax all forms of property, according to the constitution and laws of the state. The city appealed, but in the meantime felt compelled to comply with the order of the court. The assessment for 1915 had been practically completed, so a new one had to be made. The assessed value of improvements had to be quadrupled. We were also required to assess all cash, notes, mortgages, household goods and other personal property.

"There was general dissatisfaction and complaint. The small taxpayers, as a rule, returned their property according to the order of the court. But the large ones and particularly the five who had brought the suit, refused to assess their buildings at over 50 per cent on the dollar, and some returned them at less. All but one swore that they had no personal property. The result was inequality as great as before the Houston plan went into operation.

"But having power to equalize assessments, we proceeded to reduce all building assessments returned at full value to 50 cents on the dollar and to raise all to that figure which had been returned at less. So we had land assessed at full value, buildings at 50 per cent and some personal property assessed which had previously escaped. Out of \$40,000,000 bank deposits we had gotten but \$250,000 on the rolls, and out of untold millions in loans we only got a million in notes and mortgages. Much of this was the property of widows who had been left insurance money, of working men who had saved a little, and of idiots and lunatics under guardianship.

"When we started to assess buildings at 100 per cent building activity ceased during the year up to the month of July. That month we let it be known that we would assess buildings at only 50 per cent and building activity increased.

"As soon as we commenced to tax cash and notes at the beginning of 1915 our bank deposits fell and in 90 days had decreased \$3,864,000, according to report of the comptroller of the treasury. Building activity dropped off, building permits in 1915 being about \$2,444,000 as against \$5,432,000 for the year immediately following the one in which the Houston plan was adopted. The banks became frightened over the situation. Depositors were threatening to withdraw their money to evade payment of taxes. One banker told me that he had received orders to send \$300,000 east on that account. Another one said he had orders to send \$75,000 for deposit in Canada for the same reason.

"Realizing that constitutional taxation was repugnant we mailed circulars to the taxpayers enclosing return postals on which was printed a request that the tax office refrain from taxation of cash or notes and promising to sustain me should I so decide. So many signed and

returned those cards that we decided again to violate the taxation provision of the state constitution. We let it be known that cash, notes, mortgages and certain other forms of personal property would not be taxed in 1916. The assessment of buildings for 1916 will be at but 50 per cent, with depreciation for age and utility deducted. There is practically no danger of renewal of court proceedings, for the tax kickers in signing their assessments violated the law and by their act re-established the Houston plan in principle if not in exact percentage.

"Thus the Houston plan has been restored in principle, though the building assessment has not been placed at as low a percentage as before. All that the kickers have accomplished is to make clearer than ever the impracticability of general property taxation, and the advantages and desirability of the Houston plan."

## HOME RULE AND THE SPRINGFIELD GAS RATE CASE

"I believe the city of Chicago to be today making a mistake by not exerting all its influence in aid of the present effort of the Public Utilities Commission to reduce the excessive gas rate now being charged its inhabitants," said A. D. Stevens, City Attorney of Springfield, Ill., speaking at the City Club, May 9, on the recent decision of the commission in the Springfield gas rate case. "I appreciate fully," continued Mr. Stevens, "the fight which this city is making for home rule and the benefits which are accruing to the other cities of the state through Chicago's example. I am myself a firm believer in home rule, and would be the last person to sacrifice that great principle in any degree. I would not, however, under present conditions, regard a proceeding by the State Public Utilities Commission to determine and enforce a reasonable public service rate within the city of Chicago as in any way sacrificing the principle of home rule, or as any obstacle or hindrance to the efforts being made to obtain it. On the contrary, I would re-

gard such a proceeding as an aid in securing it. True home-rule sentiment concerns itself rather with the results to be accomplished by it than its mere form, and is best cultivated by a willingness to sacrifice form, through the use of other instrumentalities, known to accomplish, at least in part, one of the results which constitute the purpose of its existence.

"If it were presently optional with Chicago to use either home rule or state regulation in the control of its privately owned public utilities, no question would exist in my mind but that the former method should be adopted. But in the absence of a present availability of that method sincere home rule advocates can not in my opinion afford to expose their motives to the criticism of having adopted a policy which in any way savors of rule or ruin."

The chief interest in the Springfield gas rate case, which Mr. Stevens discussed, is that the decision involved the first determination of service rates affecting one of the larger cities of the

state to be made by the Utilities Commission. The case grew out of the effort of the City of Springfield to reduce the price of gas from the prevailing price of \$1.00 per thousand feet. The decision of the commission resulted in a reduction to eighty cents. Discussing the hearings before the commission, Mr. Stevens said:

"The method adopted by the company, in its endeavor to procure from the commission the allowance of a rate even higher than the \$1.00 per 1,000 feet then charged, was that commonly followed in rate cases by utility holding syndicates, which is, to procure high values upon which to receive a return by making minute subdivisions of items of cost, the application of excessive overhead percentages, the elimination of accrued depreciation and, finally, by the addition of a large sum for going value.

"Of these attempts, the one evidencing the greatest shrewdness is probably that of subdividing items of cost. Take for instance a gas main of given size and length. By first dividing the completed main into materials and labor, then subdividing materials into pipe, freight, lead, etc., pipe into weight per foot and cost per ton, and trenching into width and depth, a large number of units are created, many of which must not only be multiplied into each other, but also into an almost equal number of labor-cost units, and in this process of multiplication, increases in the amount assigned each unit which are so slight in themselves as to excite no notice will in the aggregate create enormous differences.

"The claim made by utilities for large additions in the way of overheads is an outgrowth of the reproduction method of ascertaining values for rate making purposes. Under the theory under which that method should proceed, the value of the property is what it would cost to reproduce another plant of equal capacity and efficiency under present day prices and conditions, less depreciation. Properly and logically applied, this method has compensating features which, in the absence of more reliable data, produce a result reasonably fair to both the company and the public. As commonly applied of late, however, it is in many respects unjustly advantage-

ous to the company and correspondingly unfair to the public.

"Because no utility of any size has ever been constructed at one time as a whole, it is impossible to estimate accurately the saving from wholesale construction, so that, while comparatively large overheads are included, the corresponding reduction in unit costs, which should result from wholesale construction, is lost to the public. Several glaring inconsistencies in the reproduction method as now used have led our highest courts to repudiate it entirely as to certain classes of property, and it is greatly to the credit of Commissioner Shaw of the Utilities Commission, who conducted the hearings, that the commission's engineers in the Springfield case were instructed to bring in a valuation based upon normal actual cost, the operation of which is to allow to the company as value such costs, and such only, as would have been incurred in the exercise of reasonable judgment, and to protect the public from exorbitant values based upon expenditures in excess of such amount.

"The overhead values allowed by the commission appear to the city to be excessive if based upon values determined by the normal actual cost method, but the principle contended for by the city, that under this method the allowance for overheads should be slight, is apparently approved by the text of the commission's opinion, although not rigidly applied in reaching the result.

"In round numbers, the question of whether a deduction should be made from cost-new to cover accrued depreciation involved 5 cents per 1,000 in the Springfield rate. It was contended by the company that, because the plant was operating at practically 100 per cent efficiency, no deduction should be made for this item. On the other hand, it was contended by the city that the value of utility property depended primarily upon the amount of service which could be rendered by it, and that its present value could in no event exceed that part of its value-new which would be proportionate to the service remaining in it after deducting the past service, which it had already rendered. The commission upheld the city's contention, and in so doing followed an

almost unanimous line of decisions by the courts of this country, the only exceptions being two decisions from the Supreme Courts of two of our extreme Western states.

"Under the head of going value the company contended for the allowance of a separate and additional item, aggregating over \$300,000, alleged to inhere as value in its property as a whole because of the fact that it was an operating concern, and was enjoying and likely to continue to enjoy a rate of return in excess of the legal rate of interest. No showing was made of uncompensated early losses incurred by the company in establishing its business, and the valuation of each of the engineers assumed a normal demand for the plant's service. The commission therefore refused to allow this claim, and in so doing again followed an almost unanimous line of court and commission decisions.

"Taken as a whole, the Springfield order seems to clearly indicate that insofar as it is possible for regulation of privately owned public utilities to protect the public against exorbitant charges, such protection will be afforded the people of this state. I do not wish to be understood as contending that regulation will, or can, produce results so advantageous and beneficial to the public as public ownership and operation, but I do believe that insofar as it is possible for any regulation to cure the evils of discrimination and extortion resulting from private ownership, such result will be accomplished by the Public Utilities Act of this state as it is now being administered by our present commission.

"In a city the size of Springfield, gas has come to be just as much a necessity to its inhabitants as a great many of the purely municipal functions for which the people are taxed. There are, beyond doubt, many purely municipal services which its inhabitants would relinquish in preference to gas. Payments made for gas are therefore compulsory to the same extent as many of the items of taxes, but unlike taxes no easy legal remedy is afforded by which any one consumer can obtain relief from an illegal charge. Realizing this Commissioner W. J. Spaulding of Springfield,

who started the movement for the lower rates, felt that the citizens as a whole were entitled to the protection by the city which, as a practical matter, they were powerless to obtain as individuals. Moreover, and of even greater importance, he felt that as each citizen had an equal share in the ownership of the streets which the city was permitting the company to use, the benefits to be derived from the service furnished through that use should, insofar as it was possible, be brought within the reach of each and every citizen. The result of the city's efforts has been a saving to the people of Springfield, based on the present consumption of gas, of over \$50,000 annually. As the consumption increases, this amount will increase. No fear is entertained that the rate will ever again exceed 80 cents, so that the order in this case will mean a saving to the inhabitants of Springfield of at least \$50,000 annually for all time to come.

"Service furnished by a privately owned public service corporation is nevertheless service for the public. To be public, a service must be for all the public, and the trend of governmental effort must always be away from any limitation of it to only a portion of the public. The true purpose of government, then, with reference to every public service, is to extend that service until its benefits fall within the reach of every member of the community. Gas selling at a rate of \$1.00 is not available to the entire public. A reduction from \$1.00 to 80 cents, while it does not bring the service within the reach of all the public, does bring it within the reach of a greater portion.

"When we regard a reduction in public service rates only as a mere saving in dollars, we confuse the means with the end. The real aim is the placing of the entire public on an equality in the enjoyment of the benefits of a service which has been made public. The reduction in gas rates in Springfield from \$1.00 to 80 cents was only a slight step toward the accomplishment of this true object, but, it was a step in the right direction, conforming to the true spirit of our government and, so far as it went, was therefore of real merit and free from error."



## THE NEW CIVIC SPIRIT IN BOSTON

George W. Coleman, President of the Boston City Council, addressed the City Club on Monday, May 1st, on "The New Civic Spirit in Boston." He said in part:

"I wonder if we realize fully the enormous changes that have taken place in our community life in recent decades. In colonial times the home was the center of all the most important affairs of life. Health and sanitation were matters for the individual household rather than of community concern. Water was supplied from the well, and lights by tallow candles. The home was even a center for industry. These things and many others have now passed out of the sphere of private initiative, and the person who wishes to influence the conditions of life which surround him must associate himself with some outside civic activity. The home is no longer the four walls of the house, but the city itself.

"The result of this transformation is that the functions of the city have been enormously enlarged and, with these new conditions, a new civic spirit has arisen. The attitude of the average man toward his government is no longer influenced simply by what he can get out of it in the way of prestige and position or other personal benefits.

"Out of these new conditions and this new spirit have come new methods in government. Approximately 400 cities have adopted the commission form of government and the commission manager plan. Proportional representation, non-partisan voting and other changes in governmental methods are being considered throughout the country. Many new enterprises have been undertaken by the cities as municipal functions: Public markets, civic auditoriums, municipal docks, waterworks and sewers, playgrounds and baths, forestry, medical inspection and dental hygiene in the schools, employment bureaus, juvenile courts, city planning—to mention only a few.

"There has been growing up in Boston a manifestation of this new civic spirit. Some years ago, five important commercial organizations combined into a big chamber of commerce which now

has about five thousand members. The significant thing about this organization, however, is not its size, but its new civic horizon. The Chamber of Commerce gives the same devotion to the community concerns of the city that it gives to its business interests. It has been of great assistance to the city government on many occasions in furnishing expert advice through its committees.

"Then followed the development of the City Club, organized about ten years ago, with 600 members. It has now reached a membership of 5,500, with a waiting list of several hundred, having recently moved into one of the most beautiful and modern club buildings in America. The Boston City Club does not take action on public questions as does the City Club of Chicago. Its success lies simply in bringing together into one common center men of every class—politicians, business men, artists, clergymen, and so on—furnishing in this way a center for co-operation and inspiration. It has in this way had a very important influence on the civic life in Boston.

"When the City Club announced its plans for its new building, a small group of women began the organization of a Woman's City Club and took over the old City Club quarters. They already have over 3,000 members and are crowding their club house for room. The same democratic atmosphere pervades the Woman's City Club that pervades the men's organization.

"Another great manifestation of the civic spirit in Boston is the Ford Hall forum, where an audience of 1,200 people gathers every Sunday night to hear affairs of the day discussed.

"The result of these various movements is that within the last ten years we have disclosed a series of synthetic forces drawing together all elements of the community for co-operation toward the betterment of the city. It is this, I think, that has made possible the improvements in our city government under the new charter. The replacing of our old cumbersome system of government under a large council with a system providing for a council of nine members—three elected each year at large—has

been a great improvement. But we have not yet obtained a perfect system. The time must come when a city manager will be employed to take the place of the mayor. My opinion is that if this were the case, as in Germany, we would make better progress in our city government. The council might well elect, in addition

to the city manager, a mayor to attend to the ceremonial duties now incident to the office. If this were done, the city manager could devote himself to the duties of administration instead of having his time wasted by political duties and ceremonial obligations."

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## CITY GARDENS IN CHICAGO

The work of the City Gardens' Association was described to members of the City Club by Mrs. Laura Dainty Pelham, president, at a meeting on April 19th. Mrs. Pelham said in part:

"The first attempt in Chicago at city gardening by the present association was made eight years ago. The International Harvester Company loaned a piece of land at the corner of Thirty-first Street and South California Avenue, which was surveyed into ninety gardens the first year. The soil was clay foundation and the results to a less enthusiastic group would have been very discouraging. The second year, with much fertilizing, signs of improvement were seen, and 110 gardens were carried on with some success. The third year the demand for land was so great that we realized the necessity of finding another place where the work could be opened. A piece of land was secured on West Chicago Avenue, which we held for two seasons. The owner required it then for building purposes, and we transferred our efforts in that part of the city to a very fine tract of land loaned us by the Commonwealth-Edison Company at the corner of Elston and Addison Avenues. Since that time we have secured land at Thirty-second Street and Kedzie Avenue, which is known as the Baur Gardens, and a very fine tract at Foster Avenue and the Drainage Canal, loaned us by the Sanitary District Trustees, which we call the 'Foster Avenue Gardens.'

"On these four tracts of land we shall have the present season 450 little farms in active operation. The association plows the land, harrows it, and surveys it into tracts one-eighth of an acre each. A four-foot path extends around each lot. We furnish seed, the services of a superintendent, and the care of a beau-

tiful club house, which was built on the Harvester Gardens for us by the Chicago Woman's Outdoor Art League. The actual expense of operating these gardens we found to be about \$6.50 per lot. Each farmer pays \$1.50 for his space. This leaves a balance of \$2,250.00, which must be raised by public subscription. We make for our work the three following claims:

"*First*—We give poor families who otherwise have no access to the soil a summer outing, which begins in April and lasts until November. The moral value to such families can readily be seen.

"*Second*—We try to show the people who hold these allotments the commercial value attached to their work. We urge them to sell a portion of their produce, and in pursuance of this aim on our part, we instruct them in intensive farming. Frequently three crops are obtained from the same piece of land.

"*Third*—We turn waste places into beautiful gardens. All these tracts we have now under cultivation were covered with masses of thistles, cockleburrs, and wild morning-glory, three deadly enemies of northern Illinois farmers. We believe that we teach thrift, self-respect and civic pride to the families we have under our care.

"We urge the people of Chicago to come and see just what we are doing and to help us with their encouragement and support."

QUESTION: "Where do the people come from who take these gardens?"

ANSWER: "Many of them live near the gardens, and some of them come three or four miles."

QUESTION: "When do they find time to cultivate them?"

ANSWER: "Usually all the family, father, mother and all the children, spend the entire Sunday on their land, the mother coming out during the week with the younger children. Laborers who only work one or two days a week find a good deal of time. Persons living in the immediate vicinity of the gardens come as early as four o'clock in the morning, and frequently work until it is too dark to see any longer."

QUESTION: "How do you keep people from stealing your crops?"

ANSWER: "We have no fence and no watchman. We never lose anything. The community spirit is very strong and the farmers protect each other."

QUESTION: "What is the average return on your gardens?"

ANSWER: "As nearly as we could estimate last year the cash return on each garden was \$27.50."

QUESTION: "Could you not charge more for your gardens?"

ANSWER: "We feel that it is a philanthropy after all and we like to encourage the beneficiaries all that we can. In Philadelphia, where this kind of work has been very successful, they found \$1.50 rental a very fair price for the class of people who are apt to take them."

QUESTION: "What over-head expenses have you?"

ANSWER: "We have none. No one receives a salary except the superintendent and his helpers. We pay no office rent. Every penny we receive in gifts goes into the work."

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Dr. F. O. Clement, chief chemist of the National Cash Register Company, gave an illustrated address at the City Club on Thursday, May 11th, on "The Consequences of Prostitution."

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Should automobiles be allowed in the large parks of the city? When Jens Jensen was asked this question, at a recent meeting of the City Planning Committee and other committees of the Club, he contended that automobiles should be permitted only on the outside drives.

The parks are designed primarily to bring a bit of the country atmosphere into the city, and if their peace and quiet is disturbed by noisy, fast-moving vehicles they are robbed of this essential feature. In the new Austin Park, which Mr. Jensen has laid out in the West Park System, auto drives are provided on only two sides of the park.





# The City Club Bulletin

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On the eve of the Republican National Convention in Chicago, Professor P. Orman Ray, at a meeting of the City Club gave a very interesting account of the Republican Convention in 1860 which nominated Lincoln. His story was gathered mainly from newspaper accounts and other documents of the time and was a lively and interesting presentation, full of local color.

Prof. Robert H. Gault, of Northwestern University, has been made chairman of the City Club Committee on Vice Conditions, to succeed George A. Critton, who has resigned.

The Committee on Drainage and Sewerage of the City Club on June 16th wrote to all Illinois members of Congress—Senators and Representatives—protesting against the adoption of the amendment to the Rivers and Harbors Bill offered by Senator LaFollette, limiting the flow of water in the Chicago Drainage Canal. The adoption of this amendment, according to the Committee, would be "a serious, needless and unwarranted blow to the health conditions of our great city."

## CLUB NOTES

The Labor Conditions Committee of the City Club has endorsed the Kern-McGillicuddy Bill now pending before Congress for an adequate federal workmen's compensation law and has been endeavoring by correspondence with Illinois congressmen to secure an early and favorable consideration of this bill.

Under a rule adopted by the Directors, the sons of members of the City Club between the ages of 17 and 21 are entitled to the privileges of the Club during their summer vacations. Where such use of the facilities of the Club is desired introduction should be by letter and by registration with the doorman.

The following persons have joined the City Club since the issuance of the last Bulletin:

Julius Alsberg, engineer, N. K. Fairbank Company.

Leroy Baumgartl, secretary, Federal Cement Tile Company.

L. J. Beauvais, commission, Board of Trade.

Dr. Frank Billings.

William C. Bradford, salesman, Detroit Graphite Company.

Dr. L. W. Bremnerman.

T. O. Bunch, lawyer.

Rev. C. K. Carpenter.

J. Dallas Corbiere, Oliver & Co., real estate.

Veagh C. Curtis, agency manager, Equitable Life Assurance Society.

Henry W. Drucker, lawyer.

John M. Duggan, principal, Otis School.

Benjamin J. Dublin, manager, Fidelity Adjustment Company.

George E. Fuller, The Electric Service Company.

Victor Garwood, teacher, American Conservatory.

O. E. Gillet, cashier, New York Central Railroad.

Lloyd Grant, R. W. Hyman & Co., insurance.

Howard S. Hazen, general manager, La Salle County Carbon Coal Company.

James M. Irvine, advertising department, Curtis Publishing Company.

Prof. Edgar Johnson Goodspeed, University of Chicago.

Edwin L. Johnson, lawyer.

Raymond H. Lindman, Detroit Lubricator Company.

Jesse Lowenhaupt, lawyer.

Joseph E. McClure, Mahin Advertising Company.

George S. McReynolds, insurance broker.

Prof. Eliakim H. Moore, department of mathematics, University of Chicago.

Herbert L. Nichols, engineer, Norton, Bird & Whitman.

Joseph F. Notheis, department manager, State Bank of Chicago.

John F. O'Connell, lawyer.

Nathaniel Pfeffer, Chicago Herald.

Henry C. Priester, Harris Trust & Savings Bank.

Dr. William E. Quine.

Haven A. ReQua, C. M. Moderwell Coal & Coke Company.

P. H. Saunders, Safeguard Account Company.

U. S. Schwartz, lawyer, Hirsch & Schwartz.

F. E. Short, accountant, Western Electric Company.

Fred A. Slaten, Benson, Campbell & Slaten, advertising.

David B. Stern, secretary, A. G. Becker & Co., commercial paper.

Dr. Herman C. Stevens, physician and professor of psychology, University of Chicago.

W. T. Tews, assistant secretary United Typothetae and Franklin Clubs of America.

F. B. Thomas, Rogers & Co., printers.

Lawrence E. Thomas, accountant, J. B. Cook.

N. W. Willard, with the Santa Fe Railroad.

Arthur B. Wells, lawyer.

Joseph Weissenbach, attorney, McEwen, Weissenbach & Shrimski.

Leslie A. White, Real Estate.

D. Witkowski, with Hart, Schaffner & Marx.

Robert I. Worthington, manager, service department, Lord & Thomas, advertising.

The City Club has recently inaugurated a membership campaign, following two successful and enjoyable members' dinners, that should be productive of a largely increased membership.

Instead of adopting the usual custom of procuring new members through the direct activities of a committee, each of our present members has been asked to pledge himself to secure one application for membership during the month. This plan will enable us to draw new members from a much broader field than if the

work was accomplished by a few committeemen. The members have responded well to the various communications sent them and it is strongly urged upon all those who have not yet sent in their pledge cards, to do so at once, and thus help fill the membership roll and establish a waiting list.

Below is a list of the members who have pledged themselves, and stars mark those who have (up to July 6) fulfilled their pledges by sending in applications of one or more persons for membership.

\*H. J. Aaron.

\*Spencer L. Adams.

C. E. Affeld.

B. F. Aldrich.

Albert P. Allen.

Fred G. Allen.

\*T. W. Allinson.

S. W. Anderson.

George Awsumb.

W. H. Babcock.

J. C. Baker.

\*Charles B. Ball.

Lester C. Barton.

P. Bassoe.

Emil G. Beck.

Robert G. Beck.

Louis Behan.

H. A. Behrens.

\*E. W. Bemis.

C. B. Benjamin.

W. C. Bickle.

\*John M. Blakeley.

\*J. W. Blessing.

\*D. Julian Block.

Arthur H. Boettcher.

H. H. Boice.

J. C. Bollenbacher.

William Scott Bond.

\*T. R. Bossort.

L. A. Bower.

E. M. Bowman.

\*Stanley Bowmar

M. P. Boynton.

E. S. Brandt

Oscar W. Brecher.

Fred J. Bristle.

\*A. J. Brockman.

Solon C. Bronson.

Robert E. L. Brooks.

\*Henry S. Brown.

R. Clarence Brown.

W. E. Buehler.

\*Edward L. Burchard.

Robert Burton.

\*Francis X. Busch.

Hugh Butler.

F. L. Butterfield.

H. W. Caldwell.

W. H. Cameron.

\*A. J. Carlson.

Wm. F. Carlson.

C. M. Cartwright.

\*E. H. Cassels.

T. H. Cenfield.

- J. H. Chandler.  
 \*W. A. Chase.  
 H. W. Cheney.  
 John D. Clancy.  
 \*William Clancy.  
 Robert H. Clark.  
 \*Walter Clarke.  
 John C. Cobb, Jr.  
 C. L. Cockrell.  
 Max Cohen.  
 S. E. Comstock.  
 J. Dallas Corbiere.  
 J. F. Cornelius.  
 \*Israel Cowan.  
 J. R. Cravath.  
 \*M. S. Cressy.  
 \*John T. Crocker.  
 Joseph Cummins.  
 R. M. Cunningham.  
 John M. Curran.  
 Wm. Cuthbertson.  
 \*S. Danziger.  
 C. Colton Daughaday.  
 Hamilton Daughaday.  
 E. A. Davenport.  
 James A. Davis.  
 L. L. Davis.  
 \*W. H. Dennison.  
 F. W. Dewson.  
 J. B. Dibelka.  
 A. B. Dick, Jr.  
 George F. Dickinson.  
 J. W. Dickinson.  
 \*W. F. Dodd.  
 O. C. Doering.  
 \*C. E. Douglas.  
 \*W. E. Duncan.  
 Victor Elting.  
 D. L. Ettelson.  
 Albert W. Evans.  
 Newton C. Evans.  
 Roger Faherty.  
 \*Lester L. Falk.  
 M. Ferry.  
 A. S. Fielding.  
 Charles H. Fischer.  
 M. Fishbein.  
 W. D. Fisher.  
 J. J. Forstall.  
 C. O. Fowler.  
 E. J. Fowler.  
 J. B. Freeman.  
 \*H. J. Friedman.  
 Charles Daniel Frey.  
 W. D. Freyburger.  
 \*Benjamin E. Gage.  
 Robert H. Gault.  
 John J. Geddes.  
 \*Francis L. Gehr.  
 O. E. Geppert.  
 J. R. Gerstley.  
 M. Gesundheit.  
 \*S. H. Gilbert.  
 Charles W. Gilkey.  
 \*Bradford Gill.  
 \*H. O. Gillet.  
 Walter D. Glenn.  
 Wilmot I. Goodspeed.  
 William Gourlay.  
 G. Paul Grannis.  
 \*Luke Grant.  
 \*G. W. Griffin.  
 E. O. Griffenhagen.  
 E. T. Gundlach.  
 T. A. Hagerty.  
 \*Wm. J. Hagenah.  
 E. E. Haight.  
 Robert F. Hall.  
 James P. Harrold.  
 F. Haselton.  
 Ralph R. Hawxhurst.  
 Samuel D. Heckman.  
 Otto H. Hedrich.  
 Wilbur Helm.  
 \*H. S. Henschen.  
 Frank T. Hennessy.  
 W. D. Herrick.  
 E. W. Hewitt.  
 Charles E. Hill.  
 H. D. Hoag.  
 H. K. Hoff.  
 \*Lowell Hoit.  
 \*William Holabird.  
 E. L. Holeman.  
 Morris G. Holmes.  
 Henry K. Holsman.  
 Alfred Holzman.  
 George W. Hoover.  
 H. Hopewell.  
 J. H. Hopkins.  
 George R. Horton.  
 \*Harold R. Howes.  
 F. E. Hutchins.  
 Carl E. Ingram.  
 J. B. Jackson.  
 Wm. H. Jackson.  
 A. L. Jeffery.  
 A. M. Jens.  
 William F. Jensen.  
 A. D. Johnson.  
 Edwin Johnson.  
 Harold F. Johnson.  
 W. W. Johnstone.  
 \*L. W. Jones.  
 N. M. Jones.  
 \*J. Porter Joplin.  
 F. C. Jorgeson.  
 \*A. G. S. Josephson.  
 Robert J. Kane.  
 E. A. Kanst.  
 \*Nathan D. Kaplan.  
 Lambert Kaspers.  
 C. V. Kasson.  
 Carl A. Keller.  
 \*H. R. Kern.  
 J. N. Kimball.  
 S. H. Kimball.  
 S. Bowles King.  
 \*Gottfried Koehler.  
 C. A. Korten.  
 Preston Kunler.  
 Albert E. Lake.  
 William Lees.  
 A. L. Lettermann.  
 Lewis D. Levit.  
 L. L. Lewis.  
 \*Alfred Lewy.  
 Erwin R. Lillard.  
 B. McP. Linnell.  
 Sidney Loewenstein.  
 A. E. Logie.  
 Elmo C. Lowe.  
 Willis M. Lyman.  
 F. Emory Lyon.  
 \*W. P. MacCracken, Jr.  
 C. S. Marsh.  
 Robert G. Marshall.  
 Warren McArthur.  
 C. H. McClure.  
 J. E. McClure.  
 John P. McGoorty.  
 A. E. McLaughlin.  
 \*John M. McVoy.  
 Donald S. McWilliams.  
 George H. Mead.  
 H. E. Messick.  
 \*J. H. Meyer.  
 \*R. W. Miller.  
 Wiley W. Mills.  
 H. Misostow.  
 \*Underhill Moore.  
 Walter Howard Moore.  
 F. B. Moorehead.  
 A. V. H. Mory.  
 S. C. Mosser.  
 \*F. I. Moulton.  
 Wm. B. Moulton.  
 B. J. Mullaney.  
 E. R. Neumann.  
 H. T. Nichols.  
 \*W. J. Norton.  
 \*E. E. Olp.  
 Harry W. Osborne.  
 R. C. Osgood.

H. E. Page.	*Carl L. Schmidt.	Webster Tomlinson.
Earl Parcells.	R. F. Schuchardt.	W. M. Towne.
F. C. W. Parker.	Charles P. Schwartz.	E. G. Trowbridge.
Alfred F. Pashley.	U. S. Schwartz.	D. P. Trude.
F. Pattee.	J. D. Scott.	*George Turner.
J. W. Paul.	W. B. Scott.	S. S. Vastine.
C. H. Perrine.	Burton P. Sears.	Karl D. Vittum.
G. M. Peters.	Lonis M. Sears.	S. S. Vander Vaart.
Nathaniel Pfeffer.	A. K. Selz.	A. F. Wanner.
C. R. Pierce.	Philip L. Seman.	*C. H. Ward.
*Allen B. Pond.	Channing L. Sentz.	B. F. Webb, Jr.
J. C. Potter.	Walter A. Shaw.	George D. Webb.
A. H. Price.	H. E. Sheasby.	Leo L. Weil.
Richard Pride.	Andrew R. Sheriff.	Joseph Weissenbach.
Harry F. Prussing.	S. M. Singleton.	Charles F. Weller.
*Wm. E. Quine.	Ernest C. Smith.	*Charles L. West.
H. D. Raymond.	James H. Smith.	*J. Roy West.
Ridgely Rea.	V. K. Spicer.	Sol Westerfeld.
Haven A. ReQua.	*S. Sidney Stein.	Fred M. Wheeler.
C. H. Reeves, Jr.	James F. Stepina.	Gilbert White.
Ralph H. Rice.	T. H. Stevenson.	Harold F. White.
W. L. Richardson.	Henry Stewart.	*F. C. Whitehead.
A. E. Riddle.	*Ira Stover.	J. B. Whidden.
George R. Roberts.	W. D. Stuckenberg.	E. Reginald Williams.
Harold H. Rockwell.	E. J. Sullivan.	Henry P. Williams.
L. Romanski.	Clayton F. Summy.	John S. Williams.
B. W. Rosenstone.	George Warner Swain.	Paul F. Williams.
James N. Roy.	Arthur Swanson.	William T. Wilson.
E. A. Rummeler.	A. E. Taylor.	*Allan Wolff.
H. E. Russell.	Francis W. Taylor.	*Oscar M. Wolff.
M. H. Sadler.	Graham Taylor.	E. Woltersdorf.
George H. Sargent.	*Orville J. Taylor, Jr.	J. G. Wray.
A. D. Sanders, Jr.	S. G. Taylor, Jr.	C. M. P. Wright.
H. D. Sayre.	*P. T. Templeton.	*Charles Yeomans.
*F. W. Schacht.	Henry F. Tenney.	Z. Z. Zmrhal.
*Joseph Schaffner.	F. W. Thompson.	
O. M. Schantz.	*George Seton Thompson.	

## 1868—ROBERT F. HOXIE—1916

The death of Professor Robert F. Hoxie on June 22d was a sad conclusion to a life of unusual service and great promise. He was just beginning, through his book on "Scientific Management and labor," to receive the recognition to which his years of devoted study and his fundamental grasp of labor problems entitled him. The study of these problems, fraught as they are with the bitterness of controversy, requires not only keen perception and clear analysis, but a courageous mind, sympathetic understanding and an unswerving devotion to the scientific spirit. These qualities Professor Hoxie had in

a most unusual degree. The earnestness and intensity with which he attacked the problems of socialism, trades unionism, the relation of employer to employe—more particularly in the last two years the problem of scientific management in its relation to labor—were the evidence of his appreciation of the tremendous human values involved in these great controverted questions. It was perhaps his understanding, his clear perception of underlying motives in the labor struggle—even those but half consciously realized and rarely expressed—his philosophic insight, which gave his work such an in-



dividual and original quality in comparison with other men working in the same field.

The loss of a man in the prime of his intellectual power, but with his task unfinished, is ever a tragic thing to contemplate. Professor Hoxie's death is charged with unusual sadness from the fact that the world loses not only a man of scientific attainments and insight, but a personality of great human qualities—broad, generous, sympathetic. He was not only an intellectual leader but a brotherly counselor to the students who were associated with him in their work—companion and co-worker more than tutor.

Professor Hoxie was forty-six years old and had been a member of the Department of Political Economy of the University of Chicago for the last ten years, at the time of his death holding the rank of associate professor. He devoted most of his attention in the last two years to the relation of scientific management to labor, having been employed by the United States Industrial Commission as special expert for this study. His book on the subject which was published late last year has been widely praised as an original contribution. Professor Hoxie was a member of long standing in the City Club and belonged to its Committee on Labor Conditions.

Professor Hoxie worked always at high pressure, but he had for years been the subject of a nervous disorder, against which he fought but against which in the end he could not triumph. That he lost is less his own tragedy than that of the world, whose need of such men to face its problems is so great and whose lack of them so sore.

On June 30 the Club's Committee on Labor Conditions adopted the following resolution and sent a copy to Mrs. Hoxie:

"The Committee on Labor Conditions of the City Club of Chicago, of which the late Professor Robert F. Hoxie was a member, desires to record its high appreciation of Mr. Hoxie's character and of his services in the field of Industrial Relations. To a keen and penetrating intellect he added sound judgment, conspicuous fairness of temper and genuine concern for the public welfare. His premature death means a serious loss to the City Club and to Chicago."

William L. Chenery, writing in the Chicago Herald on June 24, paid the following tribute to Professor Hoxie:

"The sad and untimely death of Professor Robert F. Hoxie removes a man whose splendid equipment is sorely needed by the new America. For Professor Hoxie was one of those rare scholars who combined radical opinions with an honest love for men and women and who tempered all he did and said with the powerful light of a just mind.

"We have professors and writers aplenty who, having espoused the liberal cause or who having accepted conservative doctrines, go out and do valiant work for their parties. But the men of rich and well-ordered minds who are willing to await the facts and to be governed by them in every issue are all too few. Of such fiber was Robert F. Hoxie.

"His most important work was perhaps his recent study of scientific management. Professor Hoxie traveled about the country visiting the 'efficiency' factories and with an open mind studying their processes. At the end he concluded that while scientific management is undemocratic and depressing to the workers, it is for the present inescapable. His decision was so fairly reached, however that both the official representative of the unions and of the manufacturers felt impelled to sign his report.

"Necessarily Professor Hoxie was a specialist, and he worked in relatively narrow fields. But there his workmanship was perfect. As an economist he was the spiritual kinsman of those medieval craftsmen or of the elder Japanese artists, who gave infinite toil to the smallest detail. Utter intellectual fairness was his passion.

"As one of the attractive teachers at the University of Chicago he did much toward creating a new tradition for his city. Chicago has been taunted for its materiality, its grossness, its barbaric ruthlessness, its unwillingness to understand. Professor Hoxie was the antithesis of all that. The young men and women who came under his influence were touched by the flavor of that spirit which was fulfilled in Socrates.

"They testify that to work with Hoxie was to earn a higher respect for truth and for reasonableness. They were

taught to follow facts out to the long end, and when finally conclusions were apparent to say the word bravely. So in his own way Professor Hoxie created the legend and won the following which William James added to Harvard or which William Graham Sumner gave to Yale.

"Chicago is a better city because of Robert Franklin Hoxie. He gave himself to the weaving of that community soul which arises from the labors of its nobler citizens. The memory of a just, reasonable, active mind is ever a precious inheritance. It was the final gift of a body disease-tortured and weary, impatient only for death."

## THE TEACHERS' TENURE RULE

### I—DISCUSSION BY ALDERMEN CHARLES E. MERRIAM AND JOHN S. MILLER

The rule adopted by the Board of Education June 14, relating to the tenure of office of teachers was discussed at the City Club, on Tuesday, June 20. The speakers were Ald. Charles E. Merriam and John S. Miller. President Jacob Loeb of the Board of Education was invited to speak or to send a representative from the Board but declined.

Prof. George H. Mead, chairman of the City Club Committee on Public Affairs, presided. He stated the point at issue as follows:

#### *George H. Mead*

"In 1889 the School Board passed a rule in regard to the election of teachers. It read in part:

At such annual election all special teachers, all principals and other teachers who have not been notified of unsatisfactory work during the preceding year shall be re-elected for the ensuing year.

"And then later it stated:

All regularly elected members of the Education Department shall hold their positions permanently, subject however to the operation of the probation rule, etc.

"The result of the passage of that rule was to put the teachers on a civil service basis. They could only get into the system by an examination, after a period of training and probation and they could not be removed except upon notice from the superintendent, and even then they had an opportunity to appear before the School Management Committee.

"On the 16th of this month the School Board eliminated these sections from the rule, thus subjecting all teachers to the necessity of re-election every year. Civil Service is thus abolished—a teacher is

subject to be dropped simply because his term has run out whether he is competent or incompetent.

"It may be that the Board will operate in accordance with civil service, that the teachers who are to be dropped will be brought before the Management Committee and given an opportunity to defend themselves. But there is no assurance of that, and there is nothing in the situation as it stands at present which would hinder the Board from dropping the entire teaching force and employing an entirely new one.

"When this new rule was presented to the School Management Committee and the Board, the teachers and groups of citizens who were interested in the preservation of civil service in the public schools were much disturbed. A committee of such citizens, of whom Miss Mary McDowell was chairman, asked for the privileges of presenting objections to the rule and the Public Affairs Committee of the City Club, feeling that the matter was of grave importance, sent a letter to the Committee and to the School Board and its President, which they asked to have presented to the Board. The Chairman of the Public Affairs Committee was present at the meeting of the Board in order that he might speak to that letter, objecting to the removal of civil service from the public school system. A request from the floor was made that he might be permitted to do this, but the President ruled that out of order. So far as is known to the City Club, the letter which was sent by the Public Affairs Committee was not presented. The attitude of the Board in dealing with the subject has not been one of free discussion. The new rule has been adopted with far less discussion than so important a matter

should receive. It is that situation that has led the Public Affairs Committee to feel that the matter should be presented in our discussion here, at the City Club."

Prof. Merriam was announced as the first speaker. He said:

The letter from the City Club is printed on page 131 in this BULLETIN.

### *Ald. Charles E. Merriam*

"I would like to call your attention first to the peculiar manner in which the new rule was passed. One would suppose that a rule that arbitrarily terminated at a fixed time the tenure of office of something like six thousand employes would be the subject of serious consideration and that ample time would be given for discussion and debate. The rule came in on the seventh day of June. Argument was made for its immediate consideration and passage, although members like Mr. Otis said they had not seen it and were not familiar with its contents. Consent was finally given to postponing the vote for one week, and at the end of those seven days the rule was again called up. After a rather brief discussion Mr. Max Loeb said:

MR. MAX LOEB: "Mr. Chairman, before we go ahead now, there are others here, even those in favor of this amendment, who want, I believe, to hear all sides who have an active interest in this proceeding. I ask that they be heard. I ask that the privilege of the floor be given to any citizen now, and I ask particularly that the floor be given to Miss Mary McDowell to speak on this matter."

THE PRESIDENT: "The Chair will have to rule the request out of order."

"What parliamentary law was the Chairman using when he declared out of order a motion to hear a distinguished citizen of Chicago on an important question of educational policy? Was it Jefferson's Manual, or Cushing's Manual, or Robert's Rules of Order, or the principles of public procedure laid down by Mr. Asher Hines?

"It is clear that this method of action was itself a violation of the plainest principles of public procedure. Citizens and taxpayers are entitled to a reasonable time to present arguments and facts, and the well recognized modes of transacting public business should be scrupulously observed. Six thousand teachers ought not to be court-martialed, and the citizens of Chicago ought not to be deprived of an opportunity to give

their opinions. Particularly should there be a full discussion before the Board of Education, in view of the fact that the Board within the last year has twice been challenged and has twice been rebuked by the courts of this state—once when it refused to permit the City Council to investigate its books of account and its financial records and was overruled by the courts and again when the Board attempted to enact the original 'Loeb rule,' prescribing the conditions of association and organization among the employes of the Board, and was again rebuked by the courts.

"In these days when political parties vie in their assurances of devotion to the merit system, it is difficult to imagine what serious arguments can be advanced for the abolition of the merit rule. Let me recall to your mind, the fact that the original stepping stone of the spoils system in the government of the United States was the act of 1825, which put an end to permanent tenure of office and tenure during good behavior, and provided for a four-year tenure, for no other reason than the allegation that it would be easier to drop men at the end of a four-year period than to discharge them for cause.

"Is it the purpose of this rule to promote efficiency in the public schools? If so, what can be more absurd than to attempt to promote efficiency by abandoning the merit system itself? What would be thought if the State Legislature should suspend or repeal the State Civil Service law in order to improve the efficiency of the State Civil Service? What would be the conclusion if the city government were openly to suspend the Civil Service law in order to promote the efficiency of the municipal service?

"It is said that there are incompetents among the teaching force of Chicago. Probably there are, but there is ample power to remove them in the hands of the Board of Education by the creation of a trial board, or by the action of the trial board already in existence. If the trial board, corresponding to the Civil Service Commission in the City Hall, does not do its work effectively, why not get another, or adopt other methods for the Board now in existence? There is no reason under the law why teachers who are incompetent cannot be removed.

It is true that, in some states, courts have gone so far as to interfere with attempted removals, but in Illinois the courts have not tampered or interfered with the operation of Civil Service system with reference to the right of discharge.

"It is evident that if we demand professional training standards for entrance into the schools, discharge from the service must be for the same cause only and under the same conditions. You cannot require of a man or woman a life's devotion to a profession and then place him in jeopardy of immediate dismissal for no cause or without the assignment of a proper cause. This is not educational statesmanship. It is either supreme folly or the sinister work of men whose paramount interest is private and not public.

"What reasons are there for removal from the public service that shall escape attention of a properly constituted trial board? What standards of service are there that the Board could not apply in the trial of incompetents? What is the new touchstone of service which it is proposed to apply when the protection of the merit law has been laid to rest? The unanimous voice and verdict of all of the Civil Service Commissions of the United States, of all the efficiency experts and investigating boards, local, state and national, is that the protection of the merit law should be thrown around the public service from top to bottom.

"What then are the peculiar reasons that the merit system cannot be applied under Chicago conditions? If it is said that there are only a few cases which need to be dealt with, why disturb the six thousand teachers of the system by rendering their tenure of office uncertain and insecure?

"The proposed rule opens the door to the introduction of the spoils system into the public schools of Chicago. It is the wooden horse that conceals the politicians' army; and if we permit that to enter our walls, the public schools will have to fight for their lives. Before the opportunity has gone, I want to raise my voice to warn the citizens of Chicago, to whom our system of free public schools is the chief glory of our municipality, that the rule of June 14th menaces the

foundation stones of the public school system of Chicago.

"You may or may not believe in the Teachers' Federation. You may or may not believe in the right of that organization to affiliate with the labor unions. You may believe in the unit system or in the dual system or vocational training. You may or may not approve of a particular party, or a particular faction, or of particular leaders, or of their particular methods in the public schools. But there ought to be no disagreement among honest minded citizens that the welfare of the public schools should be held above argument. Before it is too late, the sober minded men and women of Chicago ought to rally to protect the sacred free public school system of our city from those who are either blind or indifferent to its genuine interest.

"The new rule provides the means of exterminating and intimidating political foes and of securing and rewarding political friends. It will not be necessary to provide many victims. They need only shoot down the front rank, hoping that the others may surrender or subside.

"Let me ask again, what motive is there in striking at the women in the public schools of Chicago? Twenty thousand City Hall employes, most of whom are men, are protected by the safeguards of the merit system. Only last week the City Council, vainly I am sorry to say, endeavored to extend the protection of the Civil Service law, as far as that could be done, to the laboring force of the municipality to the extent requiring that written notice be given when an employe is discharged. What is there in the nature of the employment of women as teachers in the city that makes it necessary for the powers that be to endanger their positions and employment? I wonder whether the four hundred thousand women of the city of Chicago, will permit these faithful employes, in almost the only line of public work open to women, to be made the victims of a brutal political attack.

"The integrity of the public school system goes deeper down even than the roots of the municipal government. A sound system of education is at the bottom of all preparedness. Politics and

preparedness cannot dwell in the same house. The thoroughness of the German education—if you want to take that as an example—is the foundation of German efficiency. Back of the army is the munition factory; back of the munition factory is the industrial chemist; back of the industrial chemist is the educational and technical school, and the whole system of the German education. It is nothing short of criminal folly for us to forget to protect our homes and our schools while watching the current of the European war. I know that there are interests abroad in this land who hope to profit by the present confusion, who hope that in the confusion of the great national political campaign, in the thunder of the guns on every European frontier; in the excitement of the border warfare in Mexico, that this internal cataclysm that reaches down to every hearthstone in the city of Chicago will pass unnoticed and that in the meantime they can carry through their designs.

"The City Council in its action last night went on record in favor of the merit system in the public schools and in favor of interrogating prospective members of the Board of Education as to their attitude in this point. If we are required by law to vote upon the confirmation of these individuals, we intend to know whether they are for or against this kind of rule. We have gone on record as favoring the amendment of the City Civil Service law so as to provide legal safeguards in addition to the attenuated safeguards that now remain. And we have taken steps to find out whether the City Council can in the annual appropriation bill, provide that money shall be available only for those who are under the merit system in the public schools. We regard these issues as vital and we ask the support of all good citizens, in the endeavor to carry through this program for the protection of the merit system of the public schools of Chicago."

Following Ald. Merriam's address, Mr. John S. Miller spoke. Mr. Miller was formerly a member of the Board of Education. He said:

*John S. Miller*

"I am in favor of the position that the alderman has taken with respect to

the amendment of this rule. I do not think that the amendment ought to have been passed. I agree with most that the alderman says, tempering perhaps with much milder statements.

"I agree with Alderman Merriam with respect to the need of Civil Service methods in the admission of teachers to the school system. The teachers must pass certain tests that are at least as severe as imposed by the City Civil Service Commission.

"The old rule secured to a teacher his re-election unless he had been notified that his work was unsatisfactory. By the wiping out of that rule, he must now be re-elected each year and there are no fetters upon the School Board as to his retention or removal. I think that amendment is a very unwise one.

"But many of the evils that have been predicted as a result of the passage of this new rule would not apply this year. It has been said that the uncertainty among teachers as to whether or not they would be retained would cause them to spend the last two or three months of the year working around to secure their re-election and that you would have hub-bub and trouble between the teachers and the Board as a result. Well, the election takes place now in June and this amendment becomes effective in June, so such a condition is impossible this year. Moreover, although the president of the Board refused to give any assurance about it, the number of changes this year is not likely to be very great.

"But it does leave the thing wide open, so that the Board of Education can in the future elect such teachers as they see fit and leave off such as they see fit without reference to competence. The teacher's right to his office expires with the year, and he will not, under the new rule, as formerly, have the right to re-election if no complaint had been made against his work during the preceding year.

"The clause that has been wiped out has, it must be admitted, given rise to a great deal of difficulty. You have in the schools three parties that are greatly concerned, the pupils and their parents, the teachers and the taxpayers, who also have rights. Now the people most likely make their wants known to the Board

of Education, are not the taxpayers or the parents or the pupils, although they are the ones after all that are mainly concerned. The teachers are the most apt of the three to be represented with their demands and their arguments. And it is proper enough that they should be represented. They are concerned and should be protected. But it is after all the welfare of the public, the thoroughness and efficiency of the schools, that is the matter of highest concern.

"Now the weeding out of inefficient teachers is a matter that ought to be dealt with very carefully—even if the interests of the teacher in some cases must be sacrificed. There should be a door by which you can let out the inefficient teachers. Mr. Eckhart, a member of the Board, has said that about one-twentieth of one per cent of the teachers were let out for inefficiency, and that that was not enough under the operation of the old rule.

"Now when notice is given a teacher that her work has been unsatisfactory and that the superintendent will not recommend her re-election for the next year, you may be assured that in most cases there is something doing. It is more than likely that wherever it is possible members of the Board will have strong influence brought to bear upon them to restore that teacher. Because of political wire pulling and other annoyances, life is made more or less uncomfortable for the school officials who recommend a discharge. And a poor teacher may have the most influence. I agree with the alderman thoroughly, that we should keep all politics out of the public schools. To admit any other consideration whatever than the welfare of the schools, whether it be partisan, factional or personal, is to poison the fountain from which our children drink. But even under this old rule you get politics working in the schools.

"I do not know whether the Board of Education could adopt a Civil Service plan like the city's. The City Civil Service Commission tries employes when charges are preferred. As I understand it, the law requires that charges against school employes be tried before the Board of Education and there are six or eight thousand teachers. I am afraid that scheme would not be very practic-

able. But a method ought to be worked out and I believe a plan better than either the old rule or the new one can be evolved.

"The amended rule would work all right in my opinion if you had in your School Board a perfect group of men who would act according to their judgment and information, who would investigate and would elect the best teachers they could get. But it is not a very workable plan because they cannot have the information upon which to base a judgment. All that the members can do in the election of teachers is to take the recommendation of the superintendent and put the matter of the election of teachers within the power of one good responsible man. If I were on the Board at this time and charged with the duty of getting the best teachers, I would have the superintendent make up the list and unless I knew to the contrary about some of the candidates that list would receive my vote. And if a principal whom I knew to be fair should report that a teacher was inefficient, and the assistant superintendent and superintendent should recommend the discharge, it would take some evidence to convince me that that recommendation was not in the interests of the school system.

"I would rather have such a system myself than to rely upon a trial by any Civil Service Commission, because there are so many difficulties surrounding a formal trial on charges of inefficiency, efficiency after all being something that you feel and know without being able to prove absolutely.

"I think it is very unfortunate that the president of the Board did not come here today or have some one here to explain the situation. I don't think it ought to be implied that everybody who voted for that amendment is a proper subject for denunciation. Of the members of the Board that I know, I should say that they probably acted on their best judgment. If the consideration of this question shall result in the study of the question by somebody capable of coming to a constructive conclusion, I am sure it will result in benefits to the public that will be inestimable."

**II—LETTER FROM PUBLIC AFFAIRS  
COMMITTEE OF THE CITY CLUB  
TO THE BOARD OF EDUCA-  
TION, JUNE 13, 1916.**

"Gentlemen: It has come to our attention that there originated in your Rules Committee June 5, and was submitted for passage in the omnibus June 7, and referred for action to a special meeting of the Board June 14, the following amendment to Chapter II, Article I, Section 4, striking out the "Meritorious Service Clause," underlined (italicized) below:

"SECTION 4. ANNUAL ELECTION OF MEMBERS OF THE EDUCATION DEPARTMENT OTHER THAN SUPERINTENDENT AND FIRST ASSISTANT.) All members of the Education Department other than the Superintendent and First Assistant Superintendent, shall be elected at the last regular meeting of the Board in June of each year, or as soon thereafter as may be practicable, and a majority vote of the entire Board shall be necessary for election. *At such annual election all special teachers, all principals and other teachers who have not been notified of unsatisfactory work during the preceding year shall be re-elected for the ensuing year.*

"We feel strongly that the elimination of the last sentence, jeopardizing as it does the tenure of position of the educational force, would be a dangerous, backward step, violating the spirit of civil service and of the merit system. This would make it possible to drop teachers at the end of the school year without notice, assignment of cause, or opportunity for a hearing. It would leave political and personal influence the natural recourse of competent and incompetent teachers alike for assured tenure of position; a condition obviously favorable to the building up of a political machine in the educational force.

"We understand that when the clause in question, requiring that notice of unsatisfactory work be given to teachers, was adopted about twenty-five years ago, conditions surrounding the election of teachers were notorious. The latter part of the school year the energies of the teachers were diverted from the work of the class-room to frantic efforts to guarantee re-election through the press-

ure of influential friends, and political or religious groups. And during the same months the Board was seriously hampered in the transaction of its business by this persistent pressure, members frequently fleeing the city until the day of the re-election of teachers, to escape bombardment.

"The proposed abolition of tenure based on satisfactory service must inevitably shift the emphasis from effective teaching to the establishing of influential connections. There would be no assurance that security and promotion would follow good service, and they might conceivably be obtained without it.

"It should not be necessary to argue the injustice of a rule which offers a possibility of summarily dropping a teacher from the school system either during or at the close of a year, without warning, definite statement of cause, and adequate opportunity for defense.

"The question of the motive back of this amendment is scarcely pertinent. No worthiness of purpose can justify the modification of the rules of a public body, if the literal meaning and effect of such modification, regardless of intent, removes a check on arbitrary power, which has furnished protection against possible abuse of that power. And it would seem in particular that the Board of Education can hardly expect the support of public opinion in removing on a week's notice what has for a quarter of a century proved a safeguard against politics and favoritism in the school system. Obviously revolutionary changes in the conduct of our schools should not be adopted summarily and without an opportunity for discussion and public airing.

"Whatever the intention, one certain and logical result of the proposed change would be a serious feeling of uncertainty and unrest in the entire teaching body since that body must see that the proposed amendment provides means for removing not only the incompetent, but also the competent who have been hitherto protected. Such unrest cannot but react seriously upon the efficiency of the schools.

"We respectfully urge that your body, in consideration of the possibilities underlying the proposed change in your rules, effect the elimination of incompetents by the application of existing or other provisions; but that at all events the vital principle of tenure of position

based on efficient service alone, be preserved.

"Respectfully,  
"PUBLIC AFFAIRS COMMITTEE OF THE CITY CLUB OF CHICAGO,

"By (Sd.) GEORGE H. MEAD,  
"Chairman."

## THE "CALUMET HARBOR" ORDINANCES

The so-called "Calumet harbor" ordinances, described on the one hand as wise public measures, on the other as a large scale land-grabbing scheme, were debated at a meeting at the City Club on June 1 by Ald. Harry E. Littler, chairman of the City Council Committee on Harbors, Wharves and Bridges, and by Ald. Thomas O. Wallace, a member of that committee. There are thirteen of these ordinances, five already recommended by the Harbors Committee to the City Council for passage and eight still under consideration by the committee. These ordinances endeavor to procure for the city the riparian rights of Lake Calumet now held by individuals.

Alderman Littler, who spoke in favor of the ordinances, stated that bills passed by the Legislature for the development of Lake Calumet as a harbor had been vetoed because the question of the riparian rights had not been settled. This fact, he said, had led the Harbors Committee to believe that it was very essential to draw the line of demarcation between public and private rights on the lake before any money was spent on harbor development there.

In 1910 the Chipperfield Commission made a survey of Lake Calumet and reported that there were about 300 acres of made land outside the government meander line, but in the possession of private owners. It has been charged that the city by these ordinances would surrender its rights to these made lands. The report did not, however, Alderman Littler said, make any charge that these lands were illegally held by the holders of the riparian rights.

The terms of the trade between the city and the private owners are, according to Alderman Littler, as follows: A boundary line is established in the lake,

which will give the owners of the riparian rights title to about 300 acres of submerged land which the city will fill in from dredgings during the harbor construction. The city gets in return 18.06 acres from the private owners, making a net of 282 acres surrendered by the city. The private owners, however, give up about 92 acres for streets, so they really get about 190 acres in exchange for their riparian rights. These riparian rights will include access to the land and the right to all natural accretions in the future.

The companies, Alderman Littler said, have not shown any special solicitude about the trade. There is no interest around the lake which has demanded this settlement. The owners of the riparian rights evidently think it is more profitable to sleep on their rights than to proceed for a settlement at this time. If the lake dries up, their rights will extend to the middle of the lake. This is a condition, of course, which ought to be taken care of immediately by the city, so that its interests may be fully protected.

Tables in the City Council Proceedings show that the city is giving up in the five ordinances so far reported to the Council a net of 158 acres of submerged lands. These are said to be worth about \$500 per acre. As a matter of fact, Alderman Littler said, it is stage money that the city is paying for these rights. Since the land is submerged it is of no use to the city and it cannot be reclaimed for any but harbor purposes.

It has been suggested that instead of making a trade we should proceed to condemn the rights of these owners. In 1914 the Finance Committee recommended a trade for these riparian rights as a means of avoiding litigation, which



would probably run on for several years. This was the plan used on the north side in the development of the present municipal pier so as to avoid litigation.

Lake Calumet, Alderman Littler said, is an ideal point for harbor development, being contiguous to so many railroads. When the Sag Channel is finally put through, this lake with the Calumet River will afford excellent access to the proposed deep waterway to the south.

In conclusion Mr. Littler described some of the details of the ordinances under consideration.

Alderman Wallace took a position in opposition to the ordinances. He said that he agreed with the Committee as to the importance of developing Lake Calumet as a harbor, but that he believed that the method of settling the question of riparian rights was not a wise one. First of all the settlement should have been made with all of the owners at one time instead of submitting the ordinances in bunches. He continued:

"The Chipfield report in the Legislature shows that the shore owners have acquired 378 acres already, and we propose in this settlement to give them 300 acres more—a total of 678 acres. That we will give for their riparian rights.

"We will do more than that; we will pay these shore owners to take that property from us.

"Calumet Lake has an average depth of about three feet. If the whole of this 2,220 acres were dredged to a depth of twenty-two feet there would be sufficient fill for a depth of seven feet over 6,000 acres. But suppose we only dredge one-half of it, there will be enough fill for 3,000 acres.

"We must put that some place, and the shortest haul, the most convenient place, will be the land we propose to give to the shore owners. They will consent to permit us to dump on the land we have given them—for a consideration. Assume that the land is now worth only \$500 an acre. When the development is completed it will be worth \$5,000 to \$10,000 an acre.

"Why not condemn these riparian rights? Let the city take the chance on the value of these lands rising, which we propose to trade for riparian rights."

Consideration of the five ordinances before the Council has now been postponed until the other ordinances, dealing with riparian rights on the east side of the lake are reported in, and the subject is in abeyance until fall.

## COMMON SENSE IN PRISON MANAGEMENT

Thomas Mott Osborne's voluntary imprisonment at the Auburn penitentiary in New York in order to know prison life, his subsequent appointment as warden at Sing Sing, the reforms which he instituted there and the subsequent attacks upon his administration have made him a figure of national prominence and a unique authority on prison management. (Mr. Osborne spoke at the City Club Monday, May 15, on "Common Sense in Prison Management.")

John L. Whitman, Superintendent of the House of Correction, Chicago, presided. In introducing Mr. Osborne he said in part:

MR. JOHN L. WHITMAN: "The administration of penal institutions is more than a business, for the business man deals with commodities and those in charge of penal institutions must deal

with humanity. Back of prison discipline, therefore, there should be a careful study of human nature. It is the modern view that not only should there be a careful study of the individual to determine his innocence or guilt, but his physical and mental condition should be studied as a means of determining the best treatment to secure his re-entrance into society under the best possible conditions. Penal institutions ought to be looked upon in much the same light as a public hospital, and the treatment should be accorded to the individual prisoner on the basis of a diagnosis of his condition."

Mr. Osborne said:

*Thomas Mott Osborne*

"About three years ago I was placed by the Governor of New York on a commission on Prison Reform. As

chairman of this commission, ~~He~~ conceived the idea that one of the best ways to find out about prison life was to be a prisoner. ~~He~~ broached the subject to the warden of the state prison at Auburn and, after discussing the matter confidentially with some of the prisoners, decided to make the experiment. A disguise was impracticable, so ~~He~~ determined to go in openly. ~~He~~ accordingly informed the men of what ~~He~~ was intending to do and told them and the prison guards that the way in which they could best cooperate was to give ~~me~~ the exact treatment accorded the other prisoners. ~~He~~ was in prison for a week and came out angry at ~~myself~~ and at every other smug and careless citizen who had been spending his life regardless of the men behind the bars. The whole system of prison administration seemed to ~~me~~ to be hopelessly imbecile and cruel. ~~So?~~  
 "Commonsense in prison management! What is prison management for? There are two things, it seemed to ~~me~~, for which it exists:

"1. To keep men in prison during the term of their sentence. This is comparatively simple, and most prisons do it fairly successfully.

"2. To prepare the prisoner for his life after he leaves the prison. This ~~is~~ thing is the most important purpose of prison administration.

"In 1910 there were about 2,900 correctional institutions in the country, and from these institutions, over 476,000 inmates were returned to society. Of the 5,000 prisoners now in New York State prisons, 4,000 will be back in society in three years or less. The temper in which they come out from prison is the all-important thing. If they come out flaming with resentment against society the system is a bad one; if they come out useful and constructive instead of destructive members of society, the system is a good one. That is the sole test. The best system is that which returns to society the largest number of persons ready to give up their old ways. We have not found such a system yet.

"The modern prison problem began in 1794, when the Quakers of Pennsylvania abolished capital punishment except for premeditated murder. New York followed in 1795. This changed the whole prison problem. The prisons had been

simply places of detention for persons awaiting trial or execution, or who had been in prison for debt. But when capital punishment was abolished for the lesser crimes the prison problem took on a new aspect. The question now was how to prepare men to return to society, not simply to keep them behind the bars.)

"Two systems of prison discipline have been in use throughout the country:

"1. The Philadelphia system, no longer in use, which consists of solitary confinement with no work, no books except the Bible, no human association except with the jailer and the chaplain, who came perhaps once a week. The amount of suicide and insanity under this system was appalling, but it was maintained for many years.

"2. The Auburn system, the principal feature of which is congregate work. Under this system as originally conceived men were allowed to come together in shops for work, but were not allowed to talk and after their work were returned to the cells. This system with a few modifications is still in general use throughout the country. The men are frequently allowed to eat together, but silence is still considered necessary. An honor system has been introduced in some places, but this is fundamentally only a superficial modification.

"~~My~~ experience with the George Junior Republic had led ~~me~~ to the conclusion that democracy was the solution of problems such as this. Self-government seemed to ~~me~~ the real foundation of prison reform. The question was how to put it into practice. Once ~~He~~ would have made the mistake of calling a number of people together and fixing up a scheme which we would have handed down to the prisoners; but ~~He~~ got the clue from a conversation with one of the convicts that the way to start the reform was with the convicts and not from outside.

"So two years ago the first breath of freedom blew through the old prison at Auburn. On December 26, 1913, the men in the different shops were allowed to meet to discuss the formation of a good-conduct league and to vote for members of a committee on organization. A committee of forty-nine was appoint-

ed and ~~He~~ was elected chairman. The warden and the others then left the meeting entirely to ~~him~~. The first question was, of course, about the kind of an organization which should be formed. ~~My~~ idea that only those whose conduct had been good should belong was soon punctured by the question, raised by one of the prisoners, as to who would decide as to behavior. Certainly this could not be left to the prison authorities, for, as was pointed out, the standards of prison authorities were not 'our standards.' It is easy enough to see what was meant. The good-conduct standards of the authorities are those of the 'stool pigeon,' of the successful hypocrite, the prisoner who 'snitches' on his fellow prisoners. So it was decided that everybody should belong to the League, with the understanding that those who misbehaved would be kicked out.

"The governing body of the League, as it is now constituted, is elected by the men in the shops and from this 'Board of Delegates' an executive committee of nine is appointed. This committee appoints a sergeant-at-arms to look after discipline. There is also a court to hear cases of League discipline, with an appeal to a court consisting of the warden, the prison doctor and the principal keeper, so the ultimate decision in any particular case goes to the warden, as is necessary according to law.

"The theory of this plan is that the best way to render these men fit for society is not to deprive them of liberty but to give them as large a degree of it as possible within the prison walls. I do not believe in special privileges. Privileges should not be given to one prisoner, but to the entire community. The prisoners should be made to understand that they are members of a community and that upon this community depend the conditions under which they live.

"What have been the results of this new type of prison administration? Sing Sing is about the easiest prison in the world to escape from. In seven years prior to September 30, 1915, there were an average of over nine escapes per year. Last year there were only three. When the first escape occurred after the new system went into operation, the prisoners feared that their new privi-

leges would be taken away. They considered that the prisoner who escaped had 'double-crossed his pals.'

"Production in the prison has increased since the new system went into effect, as is indicated by the record of the shoe shop, where the number of pairs of shoes turned out increased from 37,600 in 1911, to 69,300 in 1915.

"The number of emergency cases in the hospital is a partial index of the improvement in discipline, as a large proportion of such cases are due to wounds inflicted in fights. The number of such cases decreased from 378 in 1913 to eighty-six in 1915, or from 26 per cent to 5 per cent of the total population.

"The really important thing to be considered, ~~as I have said before~~, is the temper of the prisoner as he leaves the institution. The judge at the head of the Court of Special Sessions, which sends more prisoners to Sing Sing than any other court, ~~told me~~ that he has watched day after day since the Mutual Welfare League was started for prisoners to be returned, but not a single Sing Sing prisoner has come before him. That does not mean that all the graduates of Sing Sing have had good conduct records, but it does mean that the men go out from the institution without revenge in their hearts, and that there is a reduction in the amount of crime. There is no way of measuring it. We can only judge this through individual cases.

"I want to tell you about one such case, that of a fellow of 26, a member of a street gang in New York who had a bad police record and had been sent to Sing Sing for five years. Frank and open-faced though he was, a bolder fellow than 'Charlie,' never pestered the streets of New York. He was elected sergeant-at-arms for the League, and in this position had charge of the discipline. He took his responsibilities very seriously. For instance, when the campaign against drugs was undertaken by the men because they feared that the use of drugs would result in the loss of their new liberties, Charlie learned that one of the prison guards was smuggling in dope, and, with four of his 'huskies,' cornered him and searched him—a procedure contrary to discipline, of course, but we didn't learn of this till months

later, until after I had discharged the same guard for smuggling in whisky.

"When the end of Charlie's term came, he would not promise to go straight, but after he had been out for a few days he returned for advice as to a proposed business venture. The old rule that convicts could not return to the prison had been abandoned, and our 'graduates' come back quite frequently to keep in touch with their friends—on holidays it is like a college commencement. A large manufacturer was in the prison on the day that Charlie returned and promised to give him a job. He put this ex-burglar in charge of one of his stock rooms, where he is making good.

"Two cases of prisoners who escaped and returned voluntarily have attracted a great deal of attention. On January 1st, this year, 'Tough Tony' escaped from prison. The next day a band of ex-convicts in the city sat down with him and urged him to go back. He had six years of his sentence ahead of him. After they had argued for a while, Tony's chief friends said, 'They are right, Tony; you ought to go back,' and Tony returned.

"A month ago Peter Cullen took French leave. He was sergeant-at-arms of the League, and he used the opportunities of this position to make his escape. This was the first time that the

privileges of the League had been abused in this way. A week ago yesterday, at the Hotel Belmont, I found Pete waiting for me in a taxi to be taken back to the prison. He said he had not had a moment's satisfaction since he left. So he went back to serve out a term of seven years for a crime of which he was probably innocent. Pete had a bad police record and was classed as incorrigible, but the responsibilities which had been put upon him by the League had wakened him up for the first time to a feeling of responsibility to his fellows.)

"We don't try to make heroes of our prisoners or sentimentalize over them. We regard the prison simply as a place for education to make these men come out straight. It is impossible to reform men in the mass. The change must be in the individual and must be from within. All we can do is to provide the conditions which will bring out the qualities which will make men do the right thing. This seems to me to be the crux of the problem. The moment we treat the inmates as though they exist for the institutions instead of making the institutions exist for them, we are on the wrong track. One curse of the old prison system is that there are no exceptions to the general rule. But no two men in the prison are alike, and any system which does not make allowance for the individual is bound to fail."

## THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION

Hon. Percy Alden, member of Parliament, addressed the City Club on May 18, on "The International Situation." Mr. Alden is affiliated with the Liberal group in the House of Commons and has been very prominently identified with the development of labor legislation in England. He is secretary of the British Institute of Social Service. He said in part:

"The nations of Europe have put everything they have into the alembic of war. The old ordinances, the old humanities have disappeared. Solemn treaties and international law have alike gone by the board. We are lost on a trackless ocean. Happy the nation that discovers a course to steer—a compass

to guide it amid the storms and tumults of the day! One thing is quite certain: we will have suffering greater than has ever been known in Europe. The booming of the guns in France will go down the centuries—our children's children will hear them, and generations yet unborn will bear the smart and suffering of this war.

"What is the lesson of this war—or shall we learn any lesson at all? It sometimes seem that humanity in this crisis has lost its power to reason. War has been defended as the purge of the passions, but are we at all sure that war will clear the passions of Europe? It is even possible that the war will create new passions, for it is the tendency to-

day among all the nations at war to create new barriers against each other which can never be broken down. There will be enmity in the hearts of the people of Europe for years to come.

"I have no doubt that there will be a revulsion of feeling—a reaction is bound to come when this war is over. The expenditure of so much blood and treasure will quicken the pace of our thinking. We shall ask the question, 'Is war inevitable?' What steps can be taken to avoid it?"

"There is no doubt that the soldiers returning from the trenches will hate war. The armies will be sick of bloodshed, tired of killing men. But the peace of exhaustion is not sufficient. Permanent peace can be obtained only by removing the causes of war, and we can never remove these causes until we have studied them.

"Joseph Chamberlain urged Englishmen to 'think imperially.' There is a hope in this war for the foundation of a great democratic British commonwealth, but I think we must do more than to 'think imperially.' We must learn to think internationally. If there is any nation which more than another has the opportunity and the duty to lead in this direction, it is the United States.

"The danger in our international relations is our ignorance of each other. If nations really knew one another, the less danger there would be of war, the more they would see that it is possible for nations to live side by side at peace. Instead, they create barriers against each other, just as the Allied Powers now are planning to build a tariff wall against Germany after the war—a cause for future war. We have too many false patriots—men who believe that patriotism consists in hating countries not our own.

"Artemus Ward once said about a patriot that 'he was willing to shed the last drop of blood of his nearest relative,' and I sometimes think that some so-called patriots are willing to see the whole nation go down beneath the soil, so long as they themselves do not suffer. But the people of the world are not going to be content with the policy which orders them to be slain, and the more they know and the more they think

the more they will protest against aggression and militarism. I am not in any way referring to 'preparedness.' Each nation must judge for itself as to what degree of 'preparedness' is required. My belief, however, is that an educated democracy is the best safeguard against war. We are so pathetically ignorant of foreign policies, and, though we have a general idea of the principles which ought to guide nations in their relations to one another, there is no accurate knowledge of these nations and no disposition to study the many problems that constantly arise for solution.

"We must not, however, expect too much in this direction. The war will not solve the problem of nationality, or produce natural frontiers just where we want them, or abolish all the differences created by creed and race. The war won't work a moral regeneration because we want it to. It will only work a moral regeneration just in proportion as the democracies of the countries concerned awake to the fact that they have not been governing but governed.

"If out of this agonizing tragedy should emerge a new and more real feeling for the unity of all human interests then it will not have been in vain. The great powers of the world, sobered by this catastrophe, will make one more attempt to rebuild the shattered fabric of international law, to substitute right for might and replace force by reason. I do not disguise for myself that we are embarking upon a very difficult and complex problem. Nothing but the shock of this war would compel nations to lay aside their old hostilities and submit their disputes to arbitration; and even now they may be unwilling. Yet the fact that Mr. Asquith said in one of his speeches that he hoped 'that one of the results of the war would be the substitution for force, for the clash of competing ambitions, for groupings and alliances and a precarious equipoise—the substitution for all those things of a real European partnership, based on the recognition of equal right and established and enforced by a common will.' 'A year ago,' he went on to say, 'that would have sounded like a Utopian idea.' It may still be Utopian, but none-the-less we ought to make an ef-

fort to carry out the idea represented in that statement.

"The effective and permanent remedy would be to convince the people of the world that they have more to lose than gain by strife. If we could replace the national antagonisms that now exist by mutual international good-will, there would be little fear of war. That, however, is a slow process, and while we are moving in that direction, we must provide the machinery by means of which any great body of international public opinion which favors peace may be able to express itself. If this public opinion can be brought to bear upon the governments of those nations that seem to favor aggression, we shall possess a much greater force than could be obtained in any other way. At the same time it is useless for us to suppose that any measures which we suggest, involving too violent a breach with the established order, are likely to be adopted or even considered. What is needed is not an alliance of some states against others, but a union of as many as possible in their common interests: For example, the six great powers of Europe, together with the United States and Japan and such of the other European powers as would be willing to become parties. The platform might be as follows:

"1. That all members of a proposed union should bind themselves by treaty to refer all disputes that might arise between them if diplomatic matters of adjustment had failed, either to an arbitral tribunal for judicial decision, or to a council of conciliation for investigation and report.

"2. Not to declare war or to begin hostilities or hostile preparations until the tribunal had decided or the council had reported.

"3. To put pressure, diplomatic, economic or forcible upon any signatory power that should act in violation of the preceding condition; and,

"4. To put similar pressure upon any non-signatory power that should declare war or begin hostilities or hostile preparations against the signatory powers without first submitting the dispute to peaceable settlement.

"Justiciable disputes under this plan would be referred to The Hague Tribunal, non-justiciable to the new European Council of Powers, whose members should be representatives in rather a different sense to that generally understood by diplomatic representatives. They should be able to take a more comprehensive and international view. They should be appointed for a fixed term of years and the council should be regarded as ready to take action at any moment. With a view to make these men representatives of public opinion, it is desirable that in every country the names of the members so appointed should be submitted for the approval of the legislature. It is important to note that such a union as is proposed differs entirely from what has been known as the Concert of Europe. In the first place, we go outside of Europe. In the second place, the signatory powers are bound under the sanction of force in the last resort to refer their disputes to peaceable settlement before having recourse to militant measures. And in the third place, it creates an impartial and permanent council which would have many advantages over the present machinery of the concert. The immediate duty, then, whether we be citizens of Great Britain or of the United States, is at any rate to prepare the way, by discussion and inquiry, for the time when some such scheme can be made public, and I believe that if the British Government could now at this crisis of the history of the world pronounce in favor of some such policy, and if the United States could follow suit, we would have prepared the way for a really fundamental plan of arbitration and conciliation which might be put forward by the representatives of all the belligerent nations. May I, in conclusion, echo President Wilson's aspiration that we shall see our way when the first shock of this terrible catastrophe is over to 'some sort of guarantee of peace on the part of the great nations.' And I know of no greater privilege for the United States than to be the means, under God, for bringing within reasonable distance some guarantee of permanent peace."

## CONGRESS TODAY

In the seven days in which the Sixty-fourth Congress was in session, between December 6 and December 17, 1915, 6,848 bills were introduced in the House. Of these, according to Lynn Haines, secretary of the National Voters' League of Washington, who spoke at the City Club Thursday, April 6, 6,090 were "political bills"—bills for pensions, changing military records, local improvements, and so on. Only 758 could be considered of a public nature, and of these, fully 400 were presented primarily for local political effect.

"These facts," Mr. Haines continued, "lay wide open the whole situation in Congress. They show you a pitiable background of enslaved little congressmen who, unable to represent their constituents because of the Congressional steam roller, devote all their energies to playing the game of politics for personal advantage. The average member of the House has little more influence on legislation than you and I who are not members. Of the 435 members of the House, about 400 are mere figure-heads. And, of course, to deceive their constituents as to their actual usefulness in Washington and so to be re-elected, they devote most of their time and thought to a study, not of how they can best serve the public, but of how they can be most surely re-elected. A new school of congressmen has arisen which has reduced re-election to a science. The members of this school know at what particular time to write their constituents, how to pacify the different interests in their community, how to reach and hold each vote and how the pork and patronage must be distributed.

"Politics, in the right sense of the word, is the gateway to everything in government. Moral ideals and economic principles are made effective through it. In Congress today, however, politics has become an end in itself. Patronage and office rather than public service are the influences which determine the votes of congressmen. The big problem in the government of this country is to reconstruct modern politics so as to demote it from principal to agent in the government.

"This end-in-itself political plunder system has two basic elements—pork and patronage. The distribution of pork is a method for the wholesale manipulation of public opinion. Congressmen get pork for their constituents to convince them that they are busy and deserve re-election. Formerly, 'politics' depended on bribery and other forms of corruption, but the men who control now, do so, not by these crude methods, but by manipulating public opinion. One of the most effective ways of doing this is the distribution of pork. We, the people, voting their way, think we are using our own brains.

"In the second place, there is the patronage—the presidential appointments and the perquisites under the control of the Congressional machine. Every majority party member shares this plunder. The National Voters' League recently came into possession of the patronage list of the House. Opposite the names of each majority congressman were listed the positions which he was entitled to fill. One congressman, for instance, was permitted to name a certain number of elevator men in the capitol. There are twenty-four elevator men in the capitol, when ten would be sufficient; some of them work only two hours, devoting the rest of their time to the political service of the congressman to whom they owe their appointment. Other congressmen are allowed to appoint pages, clerks and other employees of the House. The average amount of patronage going to each congressman amounts to about \$1,300 for each session. The committee chairmen are not included in this patronage list because their chairmanships have certain special perquisites.

"The distribution of free seeds by congressmen is of immense importance to them politically. In spite of the agitation against this practice, the free seed 'graft'—for that is what it is—is growing. The congressman will tell you of the service which the distribution of these seeds is to the public, but what he is after is not vegetables but votes. In the last Congress each representative was allotted over 30,000 packages of

free seed. Even this does not tell the story, because the city member, who generally has no use for the seeds, trades with the county member, who gives him something in return.

"The abuse of trading perquisites exists also in reference to government documents. There is the grossest possible abuse of the leave to print. It is estimated that not one-half of the matter printed in the Congressional Record is actually delivered on the floor, although in the reprints distributed to constituents the remarks are nearly always addressed to 'Mr. Speaker,' and are often liberally interspersed with 'Applause.' I know of one speech that was printed by each of twenty-five different congressmen and franked to constituents as their own.

"These abuses are, of course, based on the franking privilege. In 1915 about 60,000,000 letters and packages were franked by the House and Senate. The size of these packages and what they contained is something about which we have no information.

"A Congressional Committee, which had been investigating the distribution of government documents, has called attention to the absurdity of making a uniform distribution irrespective of the special requirements of congressmen, and has prepared a bill permitting each congressman to draw on documents up to a certain value—\$1,800 in case of representatives, \$2,200 in case of senators. This would, of course, do away with trading, but there are precedents to indicate that if the bill is passed, ultimately these amounts will be paid in cash.

"This has been the history of the mileage and clerk-hire perquisites. Each congressman is paid, yearly, \$1,500 for clerk hire, but he does not have to use a clerk unless he wants to. If he is the chairman of a committee he uses the committee clerks and can put the whole amount in his pocket. Or he can combine with other congressmen in a suite of offices, pay a part of the salary of a \$50.00 stenographer and pocket the difference. The stationery allowance is also paid in cash, but most members use their committee stationery, and thereby save the money allowance. We have tried to get complete information on this

subject, but the auditor in the Treasury Department has declined to furnish it.

"The income of a congressman from various sources each session, in addition to his \$7,500 salary, is about \$2,025, made up as follows:

Mileage (congressman from Illinois).	\$ 400.00
Clerk hire .....	1,500.00
Stationery .....	125.00

If the document plan goes through, as I have every reason to suspect, about \$1,800 will be added to these many perquisites, bringing the total to nearly \$4,000.

"There are three things which we should strive to bring about as a corrective to these abuses:

"1. The establishment of open, honest means of information for the voters.

"2. The substitution of non-partisan politics for partyism of the spoils variety.

"3. An adequate, constructive program of procedural changes in Congress, so as to put its business on an efficient and democratic basis.

"The National Voters' League is endeavoring to turn the searchlight on Congress and to make known its methods and machinery. The League stands for certain principles which I think are very important.

"1. Every member of Congress is elected by the people and entitled to represent its constituents. He does not represent them today, because his initiative is repressed by the Congressional machine. The House is now more completely under the domination of a small group of men than at any time within the last decade, even under the rule of Speaker Cannon. The speaker is not so powerful as before, but the authority which he exercised is now possessed by the floor leaders. It is impossible for a congressman now to be heard on the floor of the House without the consent of these floor leaders.

"2. The rule of seniority should be broken up so as to give the new congressman an opportunity to represent his constituents.

"3. Congress should be organized on the basis of efficiency rather than of spoils. One committee in the Senate has not met for thirty-seven years, but that



committee has three clerks who do political work for the chairman, Senator Macomber. In the last session, the senator tried, without success, to get an additional clerk for this committee.

"4. Pork and patronage and the 'political' bills must be eliminated.

"5. There must be complete publicity at every stage in Congressional procedure. Steps should be taken to correct the committee-of-the-whole abuse by which the votes of congressmen are

prevented from going into the record.

"6. There should be a regular, orderly procedure in the transaction of business. Nothing can be acted on in Congress today unless it is given a privileged status.

"7. Majority rule should be safeguarded. Less than a dozen men run the House of Representatives today. All rules for the protection of the majority are eliminated through the caucus and closed committee systems."

## WHAT KIND OF A STATE CONSTITUTION?

Chicago must pay more attention to downstate needs in its agitation for a constitutional convention, according to Hon. Logan Hay, of Springfield, former state senator, who spoke to the Government Committee of the City Club Friday, April 14. The agitation so far, he said, has been directed mainly to an exposition of Chicago's needs, and many of the downstate counties—particularly the agricultural counties—are not particularly impressed with the need of a change. A case could be made out for constitutional revision which would appeal to the downstate communities, but so far this has not been done. Mr. Hay said also in part:

"The object of constitutional change at this time should be the attainment of responsible and responsive government. It should not be simply the patching up of the present constitution by amendments here and there. For that reason it seems to me a constitutional convention should provide for the submission of an entire new instrument instead of separate amendments. It would undoubtedly be more difficult to secure the passage of such an instrument, but it is the desirable thing to do.

"By responsive government I do not mean a government which is swayed by every whim of popular opinion. I mean rather a government which can foresee what the more deliberate public opinion will be, opportunity having been given for long-time consideration and experiment.

"A hundred years ago our governments were generally in the hands of small legislative bodies exercising a con-

siderable amount of power and leadership. The present tendency among legislative bodies, however, is simply to render a popular verdict. We say that we want responsible and responsive government, but are we willing to entrust such a government with the large powers and the wide discretion which it must of necessity have?

"One class of citizens is afraid of such an extension of the governmental powers and prefers to limit the field of government, retaining the present system of checks and balances with a large number of administrative units—a system which they admit means large wastes but prevents an undue extension of government authority. This feeling is widespread downstate—perhaps the predominant feeling.

"Another class of citizens feels that the immediate will of the people should control in large measure. They believe that the will of the people is most generally right, and that if it is not right, the people should at least have the privilege of making their own mistakes.

"A third class of citizens—and it is as one of this third class that I speak—believe that the constitution should be so remodeled as to provide a system of government more responsive and more responsible to the popular will than at present, but such system should provide such safeguards that public officials will feel that it is to the sober second thought of the people that they are answerable rather than to the passing thought of the moment.

"By inaugurating a system under which public officials could be held re-

sponsible for the results of their official conduct, more intelligent action on the part of the public officials would be secured. Assurance would be given that the larger powers necessary to be delegates would be exercised more intelligently and effectively.

"This means simplification of machinery. The public cannot decide on many public issues at one time or on issues that are too complex. Another confusing factor which should be eliminated is the overlapping of political districts. These complex political units stand in the way of the formation of an intelligent and effective public opinion in the smaller units and thereby in the larger units.

"If we are to have responsive government we must also have a system by which members of the legislature and public officers stay in service for a longer time, so they can make use of the familiarity they gain with the details of government. If a man is in politics for today only, he pays attention to the public opinion of today; if he expects to continue in the public service as a life work or for a long period, he will gauge what the public sentiment will be after there has been sufficient time for experimenting. There should be some machinery for the longer retention and promotion of public officers. The present constitutional provision preventing members of the legislature from holding office under the state administration has prevented the state from getting the full benefit of the experience and

knowledge developed by members of the legislature.

"If a constitutional convention is held there should be a careful examination of limitations now placed on the government. Many of these limitations are necessary, but others are impediments. It is probably necessary, for instance, that there should be a limitation in taxation, but the limitation should not be the same throughout the state. The new constitution should be carefully adapted to the needs of the different parts of the state. Our present constitution prescribes uniformity where practical conditions dictate a diversity of treatment for the different sections of the state. There should, for instance, be a classification of counties. Purely agricultural counties do not require the elaborate system of government that is required in counties having large cities."

In the discussion which followed Mr. Hay's address, this point was made by one member of the committee: "It seems to me that if the downstate would consent to a surrender of legislative powers over the city, so that local Chicago needs would be taken care of locally instead of by the legislature, that is, if a greater measure of home rule were granted to Chicago, the time of the legislature, now taken up with a large amount of legislation dealing with purely local Chicago conditions, would be released for the consideration of downstate needs. 'Home rule' would benefit both the country districts as well as the city."

## LONG OR SHORT CONSTITUTIONS?

There has been a very marked tendency in the last few years to increase the length of constitutions. Speaking on this subject at a meeting of the City Club Government Committee on May 12, Prof. W. F. Dodd, of the University of Chicago, said in part:

"The issue between a long and short constitution depends on what form of government we want. A long constitution means a hedging about of legislative power, a distrust of the capacity of legislative bodies as ordinarily constituted and a tendency to rely upon

checks and balances to protect the people against the abuse of official power. Shall we have that kind of a constitution or one in briefer terms with broader legislative powers and a centralizing of responsibility.

"It is in my opinion that we will continue to move to a longer type of constitution, whatever we decide as to the respective merits of long and short instruments. If so, an easy amending clause ought to be provided. The people are, however, so much more interested in getting particular reforms through

than in getting change in the procedure, that it has been very hard so far to get effective popular support for a change of the amending clause. The attempt to change the amending process under the present constitution is likely to be rather fruitless. So we are led to the question of whether or not there should be a constitutional convention and how it should submit the results of its work to the people.

"As you know, the Ohio Constitutional Convention submitted 42 separate questions to the people, most of which were adopted. Similarly in Illinois, if it were known that propositions would be submitted separately there would be less difficulty in getting constitutional change. The advocates of tax reform and of the initiative or referendum might be willing to pool their interests. The objection to submitting an entirely new constitution is that various interests may be opposed to different individual items and unite to defeat the constitution. The difficulty of securing the enactment of a constitution under those conditions is very great. The New York constitu-

tion was of this type and it was badly beaten.

"On the other hand, if you wish the convention to review the whole structure of government and to form new plans for government organization more or less coherent and united, it is not sufficient to submit separate propositions. The instrument should be considered as a whole. Thus the solution of this question depends on what you want to do with your constitution—patch it up or reconstruct it from top to bottom.

"Is there a possible compromise between these two extreme methods—the amendment of sections and complete revision which will enable us to secure the advantages of both plans? When the 1870 Constitution was adopted, eight separate amendments were submitted along with the body of the new constitution. There is no reason why we should not do substantially what was done in 1870. Under this scheme, the Convention would be free to propose an entire new constitution, but specially controverted questions could be submitted independently and so not put the rest of the constitution in jeopardy."

## DO WE HAVE MAJORITY RULE?

Why is the majority so voiceless in our government? Is it possible for the majority to exert a decisive influence in politics or must it be always more or less subject to the control of the minorities and cliques which direct the political machinery of the country? These are questions which are being considered by the Government Committee of the Club. They were discussed before that committee by Donald R. Richberg on April 28. Mr. Richberg said in part:

"We say that our government is a government of laws and not of men, but we know in our hearts that there is no more hoary falsehood than this. I am coming to have less and less faith in institutions and machinery, realizing that our government as it is today is really a government by individuals and classes. The control of the governmental processes is in the hands of a governing class made up of professional politicians, special interests (employers, public service corporations, etc.) news-

papers, amateur politicians (reformers, clergymen, etc.) and others. By dominating the nomination machinery these groups give the voter a chance to choose only between the candidates which they select. The nomination is the most vital point in our election machinery. So long as the voters have no chance at the nomination there is no possibility of majority rule. Direct primaries were put into operation to place the party machinery under the control of a majority of the party, but in this they have badly failed.

"The independent candidate who endeavors to ignore the party ruling class in his candidacy meets an almost insuperable array of obstacles. He is subject from the beginning to a series of indirect attacks. He is met first by the statement that he hasn't any chance anyway. Then he encounters the feeling that the person who announces his own candidacy instead of being put forward by an organization is a self-advertiser,

although the organization man may have been spending years in working himself into a position to get the nomination. The independent candidate also encounters the feeling that he is a marplot, who by splitting up the decent vote is going to elect the worse of two poor candidates. He also meets an attitude of indifference and non-attention by the elements in the community which control publicity. Scandalous stories about him are spread abroad, the religious, racial and other prejudices are stirred up to injure him. And then, besides these indirect attacks, the independent candidate must meet certain direct attacks, such as the putting up of additional candidates to split his vote, the manipulation of places on the ballot, and so on.

"Can we get away from this system of a minority ruling class? I think we must accept it in a measure as inevitable

under the conditions which surround us. Politics is a business as much as any other. It has its technique, and there are and must be persons specially trained in this technique. The most promising line of development, it seems to me, is the improvement of the ruling class itself rather than a mere changing around of machinery. Without attempting to speak with undue assurance as to how this should be brought about, I suggest that the professionalizing of this class would be a very important step in this direction. The professions of medicine and law have arisen out of businesses quite as much in public disfavor at the time as politics is now. If the professionalizing of the men who engage in political life would develop a system of professional ethics such as prevails in the professions of medicine and law, the whole tone of political life would, I think, be greatly improved."



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## CLUB NOTES

The City Club has entered into a contract with the University of Chicago Press under which in the future the latter concern will act as publisher for the City Club.

The members of the office staff are now back on the job after their several vacations, entirely rid, so they say, of that lazy feeling which gripped them in the hot days of early summer. Only the civic secretary is still in the woods and we are positive from past experience that when he returns there will be not an ounce of laziness in his system. The ozone of Canadian woods, the joy of pushing a canoe along shady river banks and over swift, bright rapids, the excitement of pulling a husky trout from his deep hiding place and cooking him for dinner, the hard physical exercise of a long carry, the

cold nights in the open woods on a hard bed—these things mean that the civic secretary will return spilling over with energy for the year's work. The other members of the staff are doing daily calisthenics from 12:00 to 1:00 to keep themselves sufficiently agile to stand the pace when he returns. With Mr. Hooker in the Canadian woods are Frank E. Wing and W. T. Cross. They will return early in September.

President Moulton, also in search of "pep" for the next year's work, has gone to Estes Park, Colorado. Whether he rides a pony over the mountain trails or, clambering over rocks and snow, tries to mount the dizzy heights on foot, he too, we know, will come back charged with energy.

Lazy committee members next year are likely to be crushed between the upper and the nether millstones.

Fred G. Heuchling is the new chairman of the City Club Committee on Streets, Alleys and Bridges. Mr. Heuchling was formerly chairman of the Committee on Garbage and Refuse Disposal before that committee was consolidated with the committee on Streets, Alleys and Bridges.

Victor von Borosini is still a prisoner in the English prison camp at Holyport. A member of the City Club recently had a letter from him in which he said:

"Your tobacco arrived and saved my life. Had been going on four cigars for the last ten days as my supply has not arrived from Holland. Can now smoke as much as is good for me. City Club Bulletin about Dr. Favill's meeting and reports of committee work arrived yesterday. Had heard before that the City Club memorial meeting was the most wonderful of the many meetings in his honor. For over a week we have had the pleasure of daily walks; our commander is the leader. The surrounding country is very pleasing, just like a big park, and we profit mentally and physically by the exercise. The people do not mind us. A member of the flying corps arrived yesterday. He came down at English headquarters instead of at Ghent; a fog

(Issues of the Coming State Election—Page 147)

had mislead him. He must have felt as I did when instead of reaching brigade headquarters that Sunday morning, I found myself in a British advanced post. I was on foot, my horses were over a mile behind our line, a little protected against gun fire which we were not."

As a summer sport, chess doesn't appeal to everybody, but the little bunch of "regulars" who show up daily in the reading room after lunch seem not to be affected by the hot weather. Just the same there are those of us who would rather stand under a cold shower when the temperature is 102 degrees in the shade and the occasional congestion in the shower room this summer is a good indication that others besides the chess fans know how to enjoy themselves. If you don't know that shower on the fourth floor you are missing something that you've paid your money for.

On June 30, Allan J. Carter appeared on behalf of the City Club Parks Committee at a hearing before the City Council Finance Committee on the question of whether the city should acquire property east of Lake Park avenue between 75th and 79th streets in Windsor Park for a bathing beach. An alternative proposal by Alderman Block contemplating the purchase merely of the riparian rights and the making of land for a beach by means of winged piers and sand filling was under consideration by the committee. It was the opinion of the Club committee, as stated by Mr. Carter, that the city should carry out the original project for which the \$500,000.00 bond issue had been voted, which involved the purchase of the land under the former of these two schemes. The decision of the Finance Committee by a vote of nine to three was that this original project should be carried out, and it was so ordered. The report of the Finance Committee recommending the purchases of the land was unanimously concurred in by the City Council July 10.

N. W. Harris, president of the Harris Trust & Savings Bank and a member of the City Club since 1912, died on July 17, 1916.

Since the last Bulletin was issued the following persons have joined the Club:

Matthew P. Adams, Superintendent, Mooseheart Vocational Education Institute.  
 Walter S. Bemis, Appraisal Engineer.  
 Dr. Arthur Dean Bevan, Physician.  
 Erle O. Blair, Landscape Gardener, O. C. Simonds & Company.  
 Eugene Blum, Salesman, Burley & Tyrrell Company (Chinaware).  
 Herbert Brooks, Ernest Reckitt & Co., Public Accountants.  
 Ernest R. Burton, University of Chicago.  
 Carl L. Callman, Kling Bros. & Co., (Manufacturing Tailors).  
 L. H. Gary, Manager, Pilgrim Press.  
 Thomas H. Cochran, President, Ender Coal & Coke Company.  
 Percival B. Coffin, Bond Dealer.  
 E. S. Crooks, Leggett & Myers Tobacco Company.  
 Gotthard A. Dahlberg, Assistant Corporation Counsel, City of Chicago.  
 Henry P. Dickinson, Chief Engineer, Industrial Development Corporation.  
 Murillo Downer, Supervising Engineer, State Board of Administration, Illinois.  
 Fred L. Drane, Department Manager, Marshall Field & Company.  
 Louis Eisendrath, Retired.  
 Sam Evans, Scofield, Evans & Co. (Waterproofing).  
 Alfred E. Forrest, General Manager, North American Accident Insurance Co.  
 Holmes Forsyth, Secretary, The Curtain Supply Company.  
 William Sherman Hay, Lawyer.  
 Dr. James B. Herrick, Physician.  
 R. E. Hieronymus, Community Adviser, University of Illinois.  
 Dr. A. R. Hollender, Physician.  
 Charles R. Holton, Lawyer.  
 Zopher L. Jensen, Accountant, Walton, Joplin & Langer Company.  
 Herman Katz, Ozark Timber Company.  
 H. T. Kessler, Rosenwald & Weil (Clothing).  
 A. J. Lang, Oliver & Co., Real Estate.  
 Henry C. A. Mead, Student, University of Chicago.  
 Paul E. Menn, Lawyer.  
 R. T. Miller, Jr., President, American School of Correspondence.  
 William J. Norton, Engineer, Norton, Bird & Whitman.  
 Samuel W. Osgood, Consulting Engineer, Chemical Carbon Refining Company.  
 Clarence O. Pauley, Secretary-Treasurer, Central Business Men's Association.  
 D. C. Prescott, Saw Mill Machinery.  
 Dr. William A. Pusey, Physician.

Leo Ranney, President, National Exhibit Bureau.  
 John S. Ransom, Martindale Mercantile Agency.  
 Harry G. Royer, President, Central Business Men's Association.  
 L. E. A. Saidla, Teacher.  
 John A. Schulkins, Printer.  
 Charles F. Seitz, Hart, Schaffner & Marx.  
 Hon. David E. Shanahan, Real Estate, Member State Legislature.  
 Charles H. Swift, Swift & Company.  
 Charles Truax, Jr., Truax & Co. (Invalids Supplies, etc.).  
 Maurice Wallbrun, Wallbrun, Kling & Company (Paints).

Edward B. Witwer, Attorney.  
 Edward M. Winston, Lawyer.

The House Committee has compiled an interesting list of "eats" especially adapted to hot weather. They can be had at the City Club. Come and sample them. If it's cold when you read this, come anyway. We can warm you up as well as cool you down. In fact, in our restaurant, we can bring you to any degree (Fahrenheit or otherwise) that suits your particular style of comfort.

## ISSUES OF THE COMING STATE ELECTION

Some important state problems which are issues of the coming election were discussed at the City Club August 22nd and August 23rd. The subjects and speakers were as follows:

TUESDAY, AUGUST 22:

Efficiency in Government—Prof. James W. Garner, University of Illinois.

Civil Service—William B. Moulton, member and formerly president Illinois State Civil Service Commission.

Non-Partisan Elections—George C. Sikes.

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 23:

State Institutions—Alexander Johnson, secretary National Commission on Provision for the Feeble Minded.

The Control of Public Utilities—Prof. E. W. Bemis, Consulting Engineer for the City Council Committees on Gas Litigation and on Gas, Oil and Electric Light.

A Constitutional Convention for Illinois—Prof. Walter F. Dodd, University of Chicago.

A condensed report of the addresses is printed herewith:

### EFFICIENCY IN GOVERNMENT

Prof. James W. Garner

"It is one of the commonplaces of American politics that the standards of efficiency in public affairs are far below those in private business. This is not because Americans are not politically intelligent or not interested in public affairs. It is due, first, to the defective organization of our public business, and, second, to faulty methods and principles. We have refused to adopt the type of organization which experience in private business has shown to be efficient, assuming that there is a fundamental difference between private and public administration. Now, I grant that there are certain differences, but the purely political functions of government, which differ from those of business, constitute in reality only a very small proportion of the total. Every state is engaged in the performance of a multiplicity

of services, technical in character—scientific, educational and commercial—which require information and experience for their successful performance. These differ in no intrinsic particular from those with which business men are confronted.

"Every great successful private business has at the top a small directing body, composed of men, chosen not because they live in this or that district or hold certain political views, but because of their standing, business experience or financial interest in the concern. The actual administration is confided to a manager or superintendent. Power and responsibility are never, as in public business, parcelled out among a number of co-ordinate authorities, over whom there is no central control, and among whom, from the very nature of the case, there cannot be any enforceable responsibility.

"In public business, on the other hand, we find, first of all, a large, unwieldy legislative body—ranging in size from 75 to more than 400 members—divided into two chambers, each of which is little more than a duplicate of the other. Paralysis, deadlock, strife and inefficiency are unavoidable. The bicameral legislative system has outlived its usefulness. The historical reasons which led to it have long ago disappeared, if they ever existed, in this country.

"In the executive department, we find even greater chaos. The supreme executive power is parcelled out among six or more elective state offices, each of which is independent of the other and over which there is no supreme control. The result is disorganization, lack of concerted policy and of uniformity of administration.

"The evil is further accentuated by the multiplication of boards, commissions, and other agencies created from time to time, often without respect to existing boards, commissions and agencies or without respect to existing needs. The Economy and Efficiency Commission of this state found that our affairs are actually administered by more than 100 boards, commissions and other agencies. Except for the charitable institutions, which happily have recently been placed under a common authority, each of our state institutions is managed by a single board. The commission found that in the institutions managed by separate boards, there was such variety of administrative methods, such varying standards of diet, and such divergent methods of reporting and accounting, that it was impossible to compare the efficiency of one with another. In one institution three dollars per ton was being paid for coal, and in another seven dollars. In some institutions the coal was weighed and chemically tested; in others nothing of the sort was done. The remedy for this intolerable situation is obvious: The abolition of many of the boards, the consolidation of others and the creation of single-headed departments in the place of the numerous individual agencies.

"Another explanation for our shortcomings is our outworn, but still sac-

rosanct, political theory that the way to get responsibility and efficiency in government is through frequent elections, short terms, and rotation in office. There is a widespread popular belief that government by experts is contrary to the genius of democracy. That this is a fallacy, experience in private business has proven beyond a doubt.

"But experts cannot be obtained and kept under our present methods in government. If the Illinois Central Railroad Company wants a bridge engineer or a superintendent of motive power the best man that can be found is picked, and he understands that he will be kept in the service and be promoted in rank and salary as long as he is useful to the company. But if the Governor wants a superintendent for a charitable institution, the chances are that he will choose some party worker, maybe a country editor, or a professional politician, or a lawyer without class. The wonder is, when we consider how we select our public servants, that the inefficiency is not even greater than it is.

"This is the first political campaign in the history of the state in which the reorganization of government and the introduction of sound business methods have been made an issue. It is significant that each of the candidates—at least each of the Republican candidates—has announced over and over again that if he is elected he will make it a part of his policy to bring about some of these reforms. This may be merely political talk, but it is significant of the existence of a popular demand for a reorganization of our state government along new lines and the introduction of sounder principles of administration."

#### CIVIL SERVICE

William B. Moulton

"Professor Garner has made a very good civil service talk for, after all, efficiency depends upon the men who are occupying the offices. If you fill the public offices with intelligent, honest and faithful men, you need not worry about the result.

"I doubt if the average citizen realizes the variety of activities that his



state government undertakes, the importance to his welfare of the charitable institutions, of the insurance department, the food inspection department, the factory inspection bureau, the mine inspection department, the free employment bureaus, the Industrial Board, which administers the workmen's compensation act—of all the 100 and more departments, commissions, agencies of the state government busy in the interest of the people.

"Now, what has been the history of the use of these offices in the past? I am going to take one group, the one which appeals to everyone—the state institutions. By some queer anomaly, for years in Illinois the state institutions were untouched by politics. We might wonder that there was anything that never was touched by politics, without a civil service law; but the politician did not dare to put his hands upon the state institutions. But there came a change. With one swoop the men in charge of these institutions and the employes under them were removed. Professor Hall, head of the institution for the blind and inventor of the raised letter system of teaching the blind, a man of international repute, was supplanted by a life insurance solicitor in Chicago, who probably had to look upon the map to say where his institution was located. Four years after that the officers and employes of the institutions were again removed, until under Governor Yates' administration the service had reached its lowest ebb. I believe it was in 1900 that the State of Pennsylvania sent a commission to visit all the state institutions of various states. They did not stop in Illinois, but gave out an interview stating that in this state the institutions had reached the lowest ebb of any in the United States and that they had nothing to learn here. That brought about the passage of the State Civil Service Act. It is harder to build up then to tear down, but under the civil service law we are gradually building up these institutions.

"I heard a member of this Club say that he thought it was an unimportant issue that Hughes was raising in this campaign in regard to civil service. Is preparedness unimportant, then?

Did you ever realize that soldiers could not stay one day in the trenches without a most efficient organization of civil service employes behind them? How long do you suppose the German or the British army would stay in the trenches if the places of the thousands of officers behind them were filled with Republican and Democratic precinct committeemen. Civil service is a matter that we ought to make an issue in all our elections. Find out how your legislative candidate stands upon that proposition, how your Governor, your Mayor, your President stand, because you must have a legislature, a governor, a mayor and a president who are at least friendly to the law."

## NON-PARTISAN ELECTIONS

George C. Sikes

"The partisan system of local elections is peculiar to the United States. It is not to be found in any other country in the world and we are rapidly getting away from it even in the United States. Chicago stands conspicuous among the cities of this country in adhering to it. It is particularly regrettable that this is so for we were one of the leaders in the non-partisan movement. Twenty years ago, when the Municipal Voters' League was established, that organization made non-partisanship its slogan; and the best governing body that we have in this city today, the City Council, is non-partisan in practice if not in form.

"Most of the other cities of the country have, as I said, begun to get away from the partisan idea. New York was able to bring about a fusion arrangement under which its principal officials, at least, are non-partisan. Cleveland has non-partisan elections; so have Buffalo, San Francisco, Boston and a great many other cities.

"The most significant developments in this country in recent years have been the movements for the commission and the city-manager forms of government under which nominations and election of local officials are on non-partisan lines. The Illinois commission government law provides for such a system, yet the Legislature that enacted that law has absolutely re-

fused us non-partisan elections in Chicago. The spoilsmen, if possible, will keep Chicago bound to the chariot of partisanship for the benefit of the interests that profit from that system.

"Because it seemed easier to get results along that line the fight heretofore has been made principally to secure non-partisan elections for mayor and aldermen, but our program ought to be broader in scope. There is, of course, no reason why we should choose the mayor and the aldermen on non-partisan lines, and not the Sanitary District Trustees, the County Commissioners and other local officials. We ought to have a system of freedom of nominations all along the line. This does not necessarily mean doing away entirely with partisanship. State and national officials may be nominated by petition at public primaries and have a party designation—there being, however, on the election ballot no party circle in which the entire ticket can be voted by a single cross.

"The politicians have been farsighted. They have seen that we will probably go the limit, and provide for a ballot under which the voter must mark each candidate of his choice. Probably 50 per cent of the voters would not vote for the lesser offices if they had to mark each candidate and that would give greater weight to the intelligent vote in selecting men to fill those offices. Thus even with the long ballot we would be in the path of progress.

"Ultimately we should have freedom of nomination, with the elimination of party column and the party circle for all candidates. But we ought to push hard in the next session of the legislature for a law providing for complete nonpartisan methods of nominating and electing municipal and judicial officials."

## OUR STATE INSTITUTIONS

Alexander Johnson

"Two or three things have been very much on my heart about the state institutions in Illinois. In the first place, you have made a good beginning with your village for epileptics but you have got to finish what you have begun. A great amount of interest in that insti-

tution was aroused all over the state two or three years ago, sufficient to get a good initial appropriation, but you must keep after your officials with a sharp stick if you want to get the job done.

"Another thing: Most of the feeble-minded delinquent boys and girls are being sent to the school for feeble-minded at Lincoln. Now a school for feeble-minded is a place for children, no matter how old the inmates are, they are still children and must be treated as children, mildly, kindly, without severe repression and with a great deal of encouragement in their activities. By leading them along very gently, you can make them live a reasonably happy and comfortable life, and a large proportion of them can be made to do some things and even perhaps to earn their own living under care and control.

"You are sending down to this institution a group of boys and girls, toughs from the city streets, some of whom have been in the workhouse and jail half a dozen times. It is like putting a lot of wild cats in among a lot of rabbits. There can be no proper control of them there. A little while ago, half a dozen of them skipped out, got hold of some weapons, and held up people on South State street. Boys from the school for feeble-minded holding up citizens on the streets and robbing them! It is clearly out of the question for you to care for your defective-delinquent in a school for the feeble-minded.

"The proposal has been made that colonies for feeble-minded be established at Pontiac, St. Charles and Geneva and defective-delinquent boys and girls sent there to be treated as defectives but under the strict discipline of a reformatory institution.

"Those two things, the advance of the institution for epileptics and the better handling of the defective-delinquent problem, are the most important things now before you affecting your state institutions.

"Although there are in Illinois at least as many feeble-minded persons who need the state's care and control as there are insane and although there are seven large hospitals for the insane in the state—two or three of

them, like Kankakee, larger than any hospital ought to be,—you have just one institution for the feeble-minded, and that 150 miles south of Chicago. If parents are to be convinced that the state can and will take good care of their feeble-minded children they ought to be able to visit their children there. Hundreds, if not thousands, of children in the northern part of the state are not sent to the institution simply because it is so far away. You should have another place for the feeble-minded, within 20 or 30 miles of Chicago.

"This institution ought to have as its head the best man in the United States. How many of you business men would give a responsible position in your business to some unsuccessful friend who has to have a job to support himself and his family? Not one. But how many of you stand for it in politics? Why, *all* of you! And you ought to be ashamed that I should dare to say that to you, but you know it is true! When it is proposed to hire some man from outside the state for an important state position, the people hold up their hands in horror and say, 'Isn't there somebody in Illinois good enough for that?' There is one of the very weak places in your state government.

"And suppose you do find a good man once in a while and put him in a first-class job. When, at considerable expense and trouble to you, he has learned the business and has become valuable to 'the firm', the state of Illinois, along comes a new governor and gives the job to some political friend. I remember when you sent Dr. Dewey away from the state of Illinois—the most able man in the United States at that time for the administration of a great hospital for the insane. Dr. Dewey started a private hospital somewhere in Wisconsin and the state of Illinois lost his wonderful ability. You have lost many other men in just the same way, and you are losing them today. You have civil service in the subordinate positions, but the important positions you allow to be filled by political influence.

"The thing of the most importance to you today, in my opinion, is to cultivate the idea in the heart of every

man and woman in the state that these great institutions are the business of this enormous corporation of which he is a shareholder, and that this business must be done in the best possible way. That public spirit can be cultivated. I have seen it done in a state that was at one time far rottener than Illinois ever dared to be. I have seen the institutions of a state come up from a condition so bad that a candidate for the presidency of the United States was defeated for election because the rotten conditions in a hospital for the insane lost his party the vote of that state. But those conditions have now been wiped out and recently, when a superintendent for the school for the feeble-minded was wanted for the state of Indiana, the authorities looked all over the country to find a man who had the education and experience to fill the job and brought him all the way from Maine, and there is no thought whatever of removing him for political reasons. We have done this in Indiana and great heavens, gentlemen, what we poor Hoosiers can do, surely you of Illinois can do better!"

## THE CONTROL OF PUBLIC UTILITIES

Edward W. Bemis

"The people of Chicago are soon to nominate, and in November elect, a legislature and governor with great power of control over our public utilities. This control, aside from taxation, is now largely vested in the Illinois Utilities Commission.

"During the next four years, the term of office of one of the five members will expire and other vacancies may occur. One has but to glance at this commission to realize how superhuman work and wisdom are expected, and how vital it is to have, as members, men pre-eminently fitted for the work, and with a large appropriation from the legislature for the hiring of expert help. Such decisions of the commission, as I have had the time to examine, have been excellent, but the work immediately before the commission is so much greater than that which it has had the opportunity to undertake that one can hardly over-empha-

size the responsibilities in connection therewith.

"As the law is now interpreted, the price and quality of service furnished by every utility outside of Chicago and in most cases even within the City, are subject to control by this body and by no other public authority.

"The Annual Report of the Commission for 1914—the only statistical report that has been issued—shows a control of 3,000 miles of street railroad and 3,500 miles of interurban and elevated roads, to say nothing of all gas, electric light, telephone and telegraph, steamboat, sleeping car and express companies in the state. A dangerous power, fraught with tremendous responsibility, has been granted in the control of stock and bond issues. When this commission, after professing to investigate, authorizes the issue of bonds and notes of over \$160,000,000, as was done by this commission in 1914, there is grave danger that the authorization of these issues, which are thrown into a common fund with earlier issues will tend to validate them in the minds of the public, and lead many people to set up the claim of being innocent investors in watered securities.

"These may seriously handicap the public when reasonable rates are demanded of many of these companies. Yet, for all this investigation, preceding the authorization of the entire issue of \$176,917,000 of securities in the first eleven months of 1914 and in the entire supervision of the 161 electrical companies, 41 water companies, 48 street railway companies, 4 telegraph companies, 30 steam and hot water heating companies, 72 gas companies, 794 telephone companies, 46 electric interurban railways and 144 steam railroads of the state, only \$106,350 was spent. To do such work properly with any such expenditure is impossible. Several times that amount is needed. Some things may be excusable in the infancy of the law, but upon the next governor and legislature will devolve a heavy responsibility in respect to the personnel of this body tremendous powers and in its proper financial support.

"The next administration must also meet the demand from Chicago for

Home Rule in the treatment of its local utilities. This, in itself, requires a high order of statesmanship. Some solution must be found to this pressing question. Aside entirely from the desirability of putting in the hands of so big a city as Chicago the regulation of its own utilities, it is becoming increasingly evident that the problems of Chicago are great enough to occupy the entire attention of a commission and that no one body can do adequate justice to the entire state, any more than is possible in the state of New York, where two public service commissions have been kept fully employed for the past nine years—one in the city and one in the rest of the state.

"The voters of Chicago and of a comparatively small population outside have also to elect the president and two other members of the sanitary district. That board of nine trustees spends over \$15,000 a day and is entirely responsible for the care of the sewage and the provision of electricity for lighting the streets of the city. There are few municipally-owned electric plants in Europe and none in America that generate and distribute as much electricity as the sanitary district.

"Problems of partial purification of the sewage before its discharge into the canal are confronting the sanitary district trustees.

"Now that the United States government is refusing to permit the discharge of enough water from the lake to dilute properly the raw sewage, it has become a matter of the highest importance to secure and study plans for such more or less complete purification of the sewage before its discharge into the drainage canal, as to render it possible to take care of it with the amount of water now allowed by the government. This is a big problem for the incoming sanitary district board. It is a problem requiring exhaustive study, both by qualified experts and by the trustees themselves.

"No one can examine the proceedings and reports of that important board without wishing for far more detailed and clearer analysis and classification of receipts and expenditures

and of the balance sheet than one can there find. It is exceedingly important to secure on that board men of thorough efficiency, integrity and devotion to the public weal. Here, too, the responsibility upon the voter at the primaries in September and in the November elections should be brought home to every voter."

## A CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION FOR ILLINOIS

Walter F. Dodd

"I suspect that most of us who have thought very much about the constitutional amendment for tax reform that we are to vote on in November have come to the conclusion that it is going to fail. The possibilities of getting constitutional revision in Illinois by piecemeal amendment are not insuperable, but almost so. An amendment requires, as you know, for its adoption a majority of those voting at the election and if other elections are a criterion, a great many of us probably will not vote on the tax revision question at all. Until we get an easier amending process, there is, I think, little possibility of getting a substantial change in our constitution by the adoption of individual amendments.

"Furthermore, I very much doubt if we will ever be able, under the present system, to adopt a new and easier method of getting constitutional amendments. In 1892, I believe, an amendment was actually submitted to the voters of this state for an easier method of amending the constitution, and it was defeated. Another later amendment of the same sort was also defeated. What possibility is there then, even assuming that the legislature were willing to submit the proposition to a vote, of getting it adopted? To get the people to vote for a mere piece of machinery for accomplishing further results is a very hard thing to accomplish. The ques-

tion of constitutional revision in Illinois really becomes, then, a question of whether or not we want a constitutional convention.

"Do we need constitutional changes in Illinois? In my opinion we do certainly need some constitutional changes—among them, some kind of tax reform and of municipal home rule, power to consolidate some of the areas of local government within Cook county and to reorganize county and township government. But more than those specific amendments, it seems to me that we need a thorough overhauling of our present constitution, in an effort to find out how well it fits with our present conditions and if parts of it do not fit, to eliminate or change them. That can, of course, be done only by a convention, where the problem can be taken up as a whole, for most of our state governmental problems are so interrelated, that it is difficult to take them up piecemeal.

"Now if we are going to have a constitutional convention in this state, we must remember that a group of men assembled in such a convention, with little detailed knowledge of how the present government is working and how different parts of the constitution have been interpreted, is very poorly fitted for its job. Prefacing the work of a convention there should, I think, be a careful and adequate study of the constitutional system that we now have in Illinois—of course not ignoring the experience of other states. There is ample time to do this preliminary investigational work, for even if the next general assembly should set in motion at once the machinery for a constitutional convention, it could hardly be assembled before the spring of 1919. The general assembly ought, therefore, at its next session to authorize an adequate investigation by a commission or otherwise, of the problems that are likely to present themselves to the convention."



## HEALTH INSURANCE

Eleven European countries have some form of health insurance. The agitation for establishing this type of social insurance in America is of very recent origin. However, three bills were introduced—largely for publicity purposes—at the last session of the legislatures of Massachusetts, New York and New Jersey. None of these bills was passed, but the state of Massachusetts has provided for a commission to investigate the subject, and other states are following suit. It is likely to be a live issue in the states from now on.\*

Dr. I. M. Rubinow, secretary of the special Committee on Health Insurance of the Council on Health and Public Instruction of the American Medical Association, member of the Social Insurance Committee of the American Association for Labor Legislation, and author of numerous books on economics and social insurance, spoke at the City Club on "Health Insurance" Thursday, June 15. He said in part:

"All insurance is a form of preparedness for meeting some hazardous emergency of life. But some hazards are more certain than others, and so sure in some cases as almost to remove their character as 'hazards.' And one of the most certain of all is illness.

"This country spends more money for statistics than any country in Europe, but for all that we do not even know how many people die, and we have almost no information as to the amount of sickness. Estimating, however, from European figures, I should say that we have ten million cases of illness among the wage-earners in this country every year, and over 25 per cent of these cases, two and a half million, extend over a period of at least four weeks. Now, professional people earning good salaries or people living on property do not need to worry about a four weeks' illness, but for the wage-worker it is a very different proposition. His well-being depends upon a continuous income, and this in turn, under our present arrange-

ments, depends upon the exertion of a continuous effort. If this is interrupted by illness he suffers severely. We should, therefore, have some mechanism by which the workingman's income, instead of being interrupted by illness, can be transformed into a continuous flow, so that he and his family may be tided over the period of hardship. This is the aim of workingmen's insurance.

"The American people, I believe, understand very well the importance of insurance against loss of life or property. Sickness, however, is such a common hazard that insurance against it is more important almost than against any other thing. It is especially necessary for workingmen, because of the greater hazards to which their health is subjected. The conditions under which they work are more detrimental to health, their housing is worse, their wages are lower (this affects the quantity and quality of the food) and the heat, fatigue, overwork, dust and poisons often connected with their jobs increase very greatly the danger of illness.

"If you should ask the workingman why he is not protected against illness by some form of insurance he would find one very important reason in the costliness of such insurance provided by the commercial companies. In commercial companies 60 per cent of the income is wasted through inefficiency. It is too costly a proposition.

"Health insurance presupposes a system that will give insurance at cost or even at less than cost to the workingman. It is unfair to put all the cost on him, because he is not the only one responsible for the conditions which produced the illness. To some extent, no doubt, such illness may be the result of his own carelessness, but the conditions under which he works are in chief measure under the control of his employer. And back of the conditions which surround him at work are the conditions which surround his daily life at home and elsewhere. Society in general, therefore, as well as the employer and the employee, must accept a share of the responsibility for the conditions which cause illness. Society is responsible for the water supply, for the milk supply,

\*The American Association for Labor Legislation has just published a "Brief for Health Insurance," which can be had from the office of the association, 131 E. 23d St., New York. \$1.00 per copy.

for tenement house inspection, for the control of a great many of the conditions which surround the life of the wage-earner. It is apparently, therefore, only equitable that in any health insurance plan the cost of insurance should be distributed between the workman, the employer and the state.

"Health insurance must also be compulsory. That has been demonstrated by the history of insurance in Europe. Where the earning capacity is low the system cannot be worked successfully unless it is made compulsory. Otherwise it will not reach the persons who most need its protection. The plan prepared by the Social Insurance Committee of the American Medical Association, as introduced in the legislatures of Massachusetts, New York and New Jersey, provides for compulsory insurance for all manual workers and for others earning less than \$1,200 a year. The benefits to be provided are medical, surgical and nursing attendance, including necessary hospital care, medicines and supplies; a cash benefit beginning on the fourth day of illness, equal to two-thirds of wages and given for a maximum of twenty-six weeks in one year; and a funeral benefit of not more than \$50.00.

"No reputable physician will deny that much of the illness to which humankind is subject is avoidable and that the duration of illness can be reduced. We have more physicians in this country according to the population than there are in any other. It is estimated that we have one physician to every six or seven hundred of population, whereas Germany has only one to two thousand. And yet a recent investigation in New York showed that approximately 40 per cent of the cases of illness among workingmen were not having medical aid. Workingmen are not always able to afford the services of a physician. Health insurance would enable the workman to secure the medical aid which would bring about his recovery more quickly.

"An equally important problem is the quality of the medical service the working people are getting. Well-to-do people can afford specialists to look after their health, but the best medical aid the workingman can afford is the 'jack-of-all-trades' doctor. Health insurance of-

fers the hope that a better quality of medical aid can be secured for the workman by bringing about the introduction of teamwork in medicine—specialists co-operating in the treatment of cases.

"Health insurance will serve to give us more adequate information in regard to illness and its causes. Recently a large industrial plant, which had introduced a system of sickness insurance, found that whereas it should normally have had not more than 350 cases of illness, it had at least 800. The investigation which was started showed that the conditions which were responsible for this very high sickness rate were due not to the conditions at the plant but to general civic conditions—water supply, etc.—and this was traced back in turn to an inefficient city administration.

"The arguments for health insurance seem almost axiomatic, but various objections are urged:

"1. One objection is to the compulsion attached to sickness insurance. This, however, is often more an objection to the word than to the principle. Compulsion is a necessary feature of any scheme.

"2. Much capital is made by the opponents of sickness insurance out of the alleged opposition of organized labor. It is true that the president of the American Federation of Labor, Mr. Gompers, objects to health insurance, but he also objects to insurance on general principles. I know, moreover, that there are large numbers of influential men in the ranks of organized labor who are thoroughly in favor of health insurance. Employers are also pretty generally on our side, as is evidenced by the fact that the National Association of Manufacturers recently endorsed the idea.

"3. It is said that some physicians are opposed to health insurance because it might tend to put medicine on a collective rather than on an individual basis, as at present. But the fact that the American Medical Association, the leading national organization of physicians, is behind this movement and promoting it through its social insurance committee should convince anyone that the medical profession is not unsympathetic.

"4. Some people are prejudiced against this scheme because it came from Europe. Of course, but what of it? The workmen's compensation law, which is now so definitely a part of our labor legislation, came originally from the same place."

At the end of his address Dr. Rubinow was asked his opinion of the health insurance schemes introduced by some large industrial plants in Chicago. These plants, it was explained, provide regular inspection of their employees, regulate the hours of their work and take other provisions for improving their health and general efficiency. Dr. Rubinow stated that in his judgment there were some serious limitations to insurance schemes operated by individual em-

ployers. In the first place, such schemes are possible only in larger plants and are not available for employers in small establishments. Insurance under the direct auspices of the employer also meets with the opposition of organized labor. The inspection of employees' health is good, but if it fails to carry with it care for the sick and if the employees believe that such an inspection may result in their discharge, there is likely to be opposition. "Health insurance," Dr. Rubinow said, "if it is to be effective, must be democratic in management, not run by the employer or any other group. In my opinion these private insurance schemes should be taken into a large general system of public health insurance."

## PAN-AMERICANISM AND ITS MEANING FOR THE AMERICAS

Honorable John Barrett, Director General of the Pan American Union and former United States minister to Siam, Argentina, Colombia and Panama, addressed the City Club on June 5 on the subject, "Pan-Americanism and Its Meaning for the Americas." He said in part:

"It is only very recently that our people have begun to recognize the vast responsibilities which we have to our twenty sister republics to the South. Hardly one man in a hundred is familiar with their history and progress and yet these countries have all been very largely dependent upon this country for their political systems. How many realize that every one of these twenty countries lying to the south of the United States wrote its declaration of independence of the United States, not upon any document of Spain, of Portugal, of France, of Germany or of Great Britain. How many of you realize that every one of these countries wrote its constitution not upon the Constitution of any European land, no matter how close the ties of blood and language, but upon that of the United States. These are ties before God that we can never break because they are a part of absolute history, and no matter what may be the trend of future events, there are the facts as great main springs of inspiration for our in-

terest in those lands and for their interest in us.

"The Pan American Union of which I have the honor to be the Director is the official, international organization of the twenty-one American republics—the United States, and its sister Latin American republics. It is controlled by a Governing Board made up of all the plenipotentiaries of the Latin American countries in Washington, and the Secretary of State of the United States, who is Chairman, ex-officio. It is maintained by their joint contributions, each government paying a part of the annual budget of expenses in proportion to its population, and is administered by a Director General and an Assistant Director who are not appointees of the President of the United States in any sense, except that he has a one twenty-first vote, but appointed by all the Presidents of the western hemisphere, through these representatives upon the Governing Board.

"It is the object of this union to cultivate a spirit of solidarity and co-operation among the American nations and to promote their mutual interests. Around the table in the offices of the Pan American Union in its building at Washington there meet once a month the plenipotentiaries of twenty-one nations, the envoys of one hundred and eighty millions of people, to discuss the



affairs of the republics and the Pan American Union with as much friendliness and frankness as the directors of this organization would consider its welfare around a table or as the members of your family would discuss your family affairs. Around that table now for two years these twenty-one representatives of the western hemisphere, from the United States on the North to Argentina on the South, have sat, shoulder to shoulder, keeping the Pan-American bond unbroken and preventing the flame of the European war from reaching with its disastrous scorching flames the shores of the western hemisphere. And today, if there is any one thought that inspires the meetings of that Governing Board, it is that the Americas must stand together now as they have never stood before in the history of this hemisphere. And when I tell you that during the nine or ten years in which I have had the honor to be the executive officer of that organization, it has helped to prevent several international wars upon the western hemisphere, you will realize that it is not an impractical or a theoretical organization.

"An English statesman sometime ago stated that he was perfectly sure that if they had had in London or Paris, in Berlin or Vienna, in Rome or Petrograd, a Pan European Union, organized on the plan of the Pan American Union in Washington, controlled and directed in a similar way and with the same kind of inspiration, there would never have been a European war.

"The great purpose of the Pan American Union is to create a better understanding among the independent republics of North and South America and for this reason it maintains an elaborately organized bureau of information, publishes a monthly bulletin in several languages and maintains a splendid library of up-to-date literature in regard to the Americas. The importance of this feature of the work is indicated by the increase in the annual distribution of documents and pamphlets by the bureau since 1906. In 1906, 60,000 such documents were distributed; last year 700,000.

"The people of the United States have, I think, very meager knowledge as

to the conditions in Latin American countries. You do not realize that Latin America comprises twenty countries with a population of eighty millions, which is increasing more rapidly than our own population and which before the Panama Canal was in full operation conducted an annual foreign trade of three billions of dollars, one-third of which was gained in the last ten years. It may be that the time will come when Latin America will hold the balance of power in population as against the United States. It is only in the last few years that the world has realized the tremendous economic and commercial potentialities of the Latin American republics.

"It is commonly asserted that the United States is far behind the other countries of the world in its trade with the Latin Americas. That is not true. In 1913, the year before the war broke out, the exchange of products between these countries and the United States amounted to \$810,000,000 as against \$640,000,000 with Great Britain and \$410,000,000 with Germany. It is probably true that Brazil, Uruguay and Argentina had a larger trade with Europe than with us, but that is not true of the other countries. We have, since the war began, increased our trade in these countries by a large percentage and at the end of the war we will be ahead of all other countries in the trade with South America provided we are prepared for it. This means, however, that we must have a large merchant marine, for it is, of course, absurd to depend upon our commercial rivals to carry our products. Months after the war broke out, merchandise was piled high on our wharves and in the South American ports waiting for shipment to or from this country, but no ships were available. At least \$200,000,000 in trade was lost to this country by this fact. When the war broke out 93 per cent of the exports from the United States were carried in ships bearing foreign flags. If we are to compete with other nations we must have a large merchant marine. When the war is over Europe's great merchant fleets will again be released and we will have to meet their competition. We are no better prepared at present for this than when the war broke out.

"American business interests should also see that branch banks are established in the South American countries. The National City Bank of New York has established branches in South American cities and with very great success.

"Americans should also not lose the opportunity for investment in these South American countries. You will ask me, of course, about the stability of these investments. Are they not subject at all times to the uncertainties of revolution? It is unfortunate that in this country we have not realized the interesting fact that three-fourths of all Latin America (in area and population) have known no revolution whatever in the last twenty-five or thirty years. Latin America may have had many internal conflicts, but the continent of Europe has had three times as many international wars as the twenty Latin-American countries during the last one hundred years. Seventy-five per cent of the revolutions of Latin America have moreover been evolutions into an improved condition.

"The question of climate is also always raised in reference to South American investments. First we must bear in mind that all the great southern end of South America is in the south temperate zone. There is an area down there equal to all the section east of the Rocky Mountains in the south temperate zone with the same kind of climate that we have in the United States. And in the tropical belt there are remarkable plateaus averaging from twenty-five hundred to ten thousand feet in altitude that have a climate the year round practically such as you have in northern Illinois in June or September. When these great plateaus are made fully accessible and foreign population and commerce come in you are going to see a mighty change that will harness the almost immeasurable wealth of those mountains.

"What is the attitude of the Latin American republics to the United States.

The trouble is that here we draw a conclusion from isolated cases. If one writer or editor comes out with an article or editorial against the Monroe Doctrine or the United States it is repeated up here by all of our papers and statesmen as the opinion of all Latin America. There is no such thing as an inborn hatred of the United States throughout Latin America, although it is true, of course, that there is opposition to this country by some agitators. What Latin America objects to is the idea of superiority and patronage on the part of the United States. Latin-American nations are ready to accept the Monroe Doctrine as a Pan American policy which recognizes their equality with the United States.

"The relations of the United States with the republics to the south should be on exactly the same basis as those of a family—the relation of brother to brother. With the Monroe Doctrine more alive than it has been since its declaration in 1823, the European war is forcing All-America, in spite of the critics of the doctrine, in spite of its opponents and traducers, in spite of itself and its friends, and even in spite of whether Latin America wants it or not, to nail the standard of the doctrine to the mast of the Pan American ship of state and to stand by it now and hereafter as a Pan American doctrine and as a principle of international as well as of national integrity and defense. This should mean that for their own individual and collective salvation the governments and peoples of Latin America would stand with all their moral and physical power and with all their resources for the sovereignty of the United States if it should be attacked by a European or Asiatic foe as quickly as the United States would stand for the integrity and sovereignty of any or all of the Latin American republics if they should be assailed by an enemy from beyond the eastern or western seas."



## THE UNIVERSITY EXTENSION IDEA

"Education is reversing itself, finding plenty of room at the bottom, and is now beginning to put facts on wheels," said Prof. Frank M. Leavitt, in introducing the subject for the Friday noon luncheon at the City Club, April 14th. He referred to the significant new movement called "University Extension" now organized into a system by a great many state and other universities of the country.

The Club arranged this discussion in connection with the second Annual Conference of the National University Extension Association which held in Chicago in April. The members attending the second conference were invited to the Club, attended in a body, and furnished the principal speakers for the luncheon.

Director William D. Henderson, of the Extension Service, University of Michigan, the first speaker on the program, stated that twenty-two universities reaching from Harvard and Columbia to California and Washington, and from Michigan to Texas, are members of the association. He defined University Extension as an attempt to take the universities to the people.

"The University of Michigan," he said, "now reaches out with its instruction to every country in the state. Some subjects, of course, cannot be carried to the people in this way, but a great many can. The work is carried on by an 'Extension Division' with various departments. In the instruction class work, for example, men are sent out to such places as Saginaw and Detroit and give instructions to thousands of people in various centers. It is not play, but serious occupation. The students do as good work in these centers in such solid subjects as mathematics, psychology and political science, as do the students on the campus. The Correspondence instruction likewise reaches many thousands. The lecture study work this year carried the courses to 25,000 students outside the university.

"Much civic work is done by the department of General Information. When an expert is needed in electrical engineering to advise a community on whether or not a paid specialist should be employed for some task, or when a town is trying

to decide for instance on the desirability of the Commission form of government, a man is sent to that community to meet the council and furnish them necessary information. These university men do not take away the job from the specialist but help to decide whether the conditions are favorable for employing a specialist. There is an immense opportunity for the use of the information at the command of the university if the people could only lay their hands on it.

"In the field of public welfare, the Extension Divisions have been performing a most notable service. As President Van Hise, of Wisconsin, well said: 'We have science enough to stamp out disease if we could only "get it over."' In Kansas and Iowa every county is covered by the representatives of the Extension Department, especially in the fields of home economics and civic improvement. It is estimated that half a million people are in classes, conferences and institutions of all sorts, and that this Extension movement will expand until half a million is but a drop in the bucket."

The next speaker was Dr. J. I. Petti-john, director of the Extension Division, Indiana University, and secretary-treasurer of the association. "We are now-a-days," he said, "coming to look upon the university as a public service institution carrying out some of its cultural work to the people. Besides the direct teaching through lectures, class and correspondence study, there is the great function of making available the stores of general information at the university. As ex-Governor Hoard of Wisconsin used to say, 'There are tons of literature that the farmer cannot get because it does not give the information in a language that he understands. We must interpret this in the language of the people.'"

The speaker also referred to the very successful development of community institutes in Indiana, Wisconsin and elsewhere.

Mr. Harvey F. Mallory, the secretary of Correspondence Study Department of the University of Chicago, was then called upon and made a few remarks outlining the scope of the extension work at that institution.

## PLAYGROUNDS AND THE SCHOOLS

Chicago, through its special park commission, has recently taken a very important step in the development of municipal playgrounds in connection with its public schools.

Playground and educational experts are coming around to the position that there should be some sort of union between the school and playground. The life of the child outside the home naturally centers at the school and the neighborhood center movement has increased the tendency to concentrate the activities relating to child life at this point. Play, too, is being more and more recognized as a part of education, which should have its place in the sun along with other subjects. Wisely directed play enriches the child's life, stimulates his imagination and trains him in the qualities of co-operation, forbearance and fair dealing. The development of public playgrounds in connection with the schools has, therefore, been in line with the up-to-date judgment of playground and school authorities, besides allowing much more extensive playground development by the resulting economies.

Theodore Gross, Superintendent of Playgrounds, for the special Park Commission described this development in a recent address to the City Club civic committees which are engaged in a study of the north side of Chicago. He said in part:

"The policy of establishing municipal playgrounds in school yards was adopted in 1909. Great demands were made on the Commission to establish a playground in the 17th Ward. No vacant property was available, so the Commission requested the Board of Education for the

use of the yard of the Washington School for public playground purposes, and a scheme of co-operation was devised that became popular and was soon expanded. After this experiment, which proved so successful, the Commission always selected a school yard when requests came for playgrounds in any district. The Board of Education had to spend money for fencing, drainage and grading the yards, and by using the yard the Commission saved this expense, and was able to equip a playground under these conditions quite adequately at an approximate cost of \$5,000, which would otherwise cost from \$8,000 to \$10,000. With the use of the yard gradually came the use of the school building, the assembly hall, gymnasium, shower baths, and these are now being used for public recreation under the supervision of the playground authorities.

"When the bond issue of \$300,000 gave the Commission funds to work with, the question arose 'How shall the funds be expended?' If those grounds now occupied by lease or additional sites be purchased, the most that could be done would be to establish six or seven new grounds. If school yards were used, fifty grounds could be established. The Commission wisely adopted the later and with the co-operation of the School Board immediately made a survey of all the school yards in the city and selected 48 yards.

"The aim of the Special Park Commission is ultimately to establish a playground in every school yard and to bring about a wider use of the school facilities for recreation purposes."



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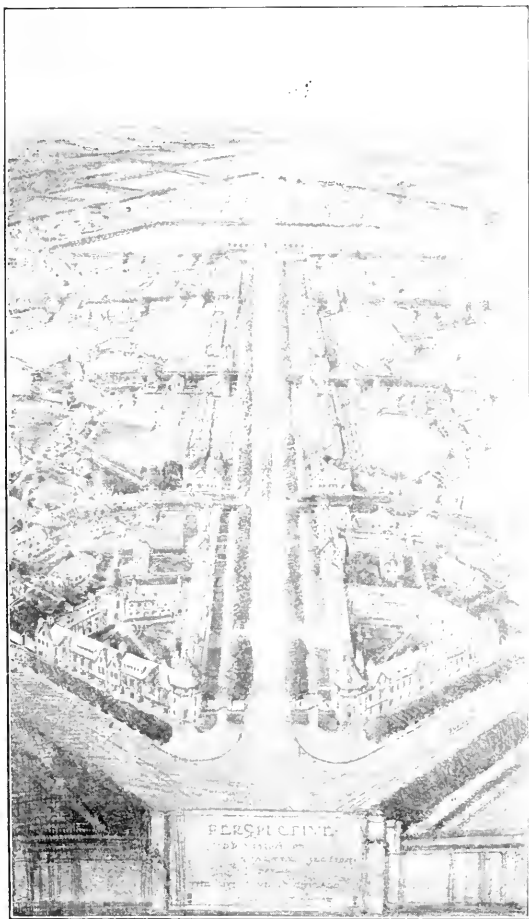
## FOUR IMPORTANT ANNOUNCEMENTS!

CLUB PUBLISHES NEW BOOK—SPECIAL PRE-PUBLICATION PRICE TO MEMBERS.  
"NATIONAL" CONCERTS AND DINNERS AT THE CITY CLUB—"AMERICAN"  
NIGHT, NOVEMBER 29—"GERMAN" NIGHT, DECEMBER 12.

CITY CLUB ORCHESTRA PLANNED—VOLUNTEERS SOLICITED.

NEW FICTION LIBRARY AT THE CITY CLUB—BOOKS WANTED.

Read the Detailed Announcements on Next Two Pages.



SAMPLE ILLUSTRATION—ONE-FIFTH ACTUAL  
SIZE—FROM THE CITY CLUB'S NEW  
BOOK "CITY RESIDENTIAL LAND  
DEVELOPMENT."

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## CLUB ANNOUNCEMENTS

### A CITY CLUB FICTION LIBRARY—BOOKS WANTED.

The City Club wants to place in its reading room on the second floor a collection of modern books for general reading. *Short stories are particularly wanted*, but other fiction, poetry, essays, popular science and biographies will also be gladly received. If you have any books, new or second hand, of this character which you wish to donate to the Club Library, please send the list of them to the 'Library Committee' at the City Club. Your gift will be greatly appreciated.

Arrangements have also been made with the Public Library for a small collection of books—mainly fiction—to be loaned to the Club and this collection will be changed at frequent intervals.

### A SERIES OF "NATIONAL" CIVIC-ARTISTIC CONCERTS AT THE CITY CLUB.

One of the most successful, interesting and instructive of last year's events at the City Club was Mr. Surette's illustrated lecture on "Nationalism in Music." So deep and wide was the interest in that lecture that the committee on Music Extension has followed it up by arranging a series of *National concerts and recitals* for the current club year.

There are many admirable singing societies and choruses in Chicago that serve and musically voice the racial elements making up our great cosmopolitan community. We have German singing societies, Scotch, Welsh, Irish and English singing societies, Polish and Lithuanian, Swiss and Scandinavian singing societies. These groups are not sufficiently acquainted with one another. The city as a whole does not know any of them as well as it should, especially in this day of "Community singing."

A series of free, non-commercial, civic concerts or musical evenings for, and by, these various societies or choruses, at the City Club, it is felt, will be good for them, good for the membership of the Club, and good for the artistic and spiritual life of the city. Accordingly, it is proposed to give one "National" concert a month during the entire season.

The opening concert will be "Ameri-

can." It will be given by twenty-five or more singers of the Chicago Mendelssohn Club, under the direction of Mr. J. Weldon Williams. The whole program will be national—it will be made up of old and new "native" songs, Indian, Negro and White. This concert will be given on Wednesday evening, November 29.

The second concert will be German. It will be given Tuesday, December 12, by a leading local German singing society, under the direction of Mr. Hans Biedermann, and will be made up of characteristic Teutonic songs—folk songs and modern songs, grave and gay, emotional and humorous. A German dinner will be served.

Announcements of other national concerts will follow in due time. Each of these evenings will be a Ladies' Evening. Dinner will be served at 6:30—at the cost of 75 cents a plate—and the singers of the evening will dine with the members as the guest of the Club. The concert will take place in the Lounge promptly at 8 o'clock.

It has been decided to make each dinner as thoroughly "national" as the music so far as possible. The character of the menu is, however, to be a secret of the chef and the committee, and the proof of each dish is to be in the eating—or drinking.

The committee bespeaks the hearty interest and co-operation of the membership in this unique enterprise, and hopes for a large or "capacity" attendance on each evening.

Invite your friends. Spread the gospel of community music. Come and hear the singers of the city who love music and enjoy making it.

Mark the date of the first National Concert—November 29.

VICTOR S. YARROS, *Chairman,*  
*Music Extension Committee.*

### NEW CLUB PUBLICATION—ADVANCE SALE PRICE TO MEMBERS.

To make permanently available the results of the City Club's recent competition for plans for the development of a typical residential quarter-section, the Club has arranged for the publication

December 1st, by the University of Chicago Press of a volume containing the best of these plans with descriptions, critical reviews and comments by specialists. The book, which is entitled "*City Residential Land Development*," is beautifully illustrated, some of the illustrations being in color.

Residential land development is a subject of rapidly increasing importance in our American cities. Emphasis in city planning, as in other fields, is being shifted from remedial to preventive measures and city planners are becoming more concerned with the proper development of the outer rim of the city for homes and industries than with the correction—usually very inadequate and enormously expensive—of the mistakes of the past in the built up parts of the city. The City Club's new book deals in a constructive way with the problems of this outer rim development. It is believed that the Club is doing a useful service in thus making available some of the most original suggestions in this field.

*By special arrangement members of the City Club who order before December first may secure the volume at the reduced price of \$2.00. The price after that date will be \$3.00 to everybody. Members should therefore, order at once.*

*The entire amount from each sale will be placed in the Club's publication fund.*

#### SHALL WE ORGANIZE A CITY CLUB ORCHESTRA?

To the Members of the City Club:

Several musical members of the Club, as well as some members who, although not technical musicians, are interested in

music, have been discussing the possibility of organizing a relatively small orchestra from the membership of the Club, for the purpose of giving occasional concerts in the lounge for the members of the Club and their friends. The idea is to start with an orchestra of perhaps eleven or twelve and gradually to increase that to perhaps twenty or twenty-five. It is proposed to engage a competent musician as conductor and instructor of this group of amateur players.

It has been decided that before anything is done a canvass should be made among the membership to find out how many play one or more orchestral instruments, particularly violin, viola, 'cello and bass, and how many of these have the time and the inclination to join the proposed group from which an orchestra is gradually to be formed.

Will those members of the Club who play on any instrument, and to whom this idea appeals, promptly write the City Club stating, first, the particular instrument they severally play on and in the second place whether they can afford to give one or two evenings a week for systematic and earnest rehearsing with a view to periodical public appearances at the City Club. Will they please also indicate how long they have played the various instruments and to what extent they are familiar with musical literature and with what facility they can read music.

(Signed) VICTOR S. YARROS,

*Chairman, Music Extension Committee,*

EDWARD YEOMANS

ALFRED B. YEOMANS

Representing the group of members who have been informally discussing the outlined project.

## CLUB NOTES

On September 29th, at a general meeting of the Club, the annual dues were fixed at \$30.00, payable quarterly. The amendment to the by-laws adopted at this meeting was as follows:

"The fiscal year of the Club shall end on the 31st day of March of each year, and the annual dues shall be \$30.00, payable quarterly in advance on October 1st, January 1st, April 1st and July 1st of each year: Provided, that

members who have joined the Club since October 1, 1915, or whose applications for membership are pending before October 1st, 1916, shall pay annual dues of \$20.00 for the year ending September 30, 1917, payable semi-annually in advance on October 1, 1916, and April 1, 1917.

"The dues of non-resident members being such as do not reside or have their places of business in or within fifty miles of Chicago shall be ten dollars per year, payable semi-annually, October 1st and April 1st."

All three of the 'little ballot' measures opposed by City Club committees, as announced by postal card to the members of the Club, were defeated at the November election. These measures were the park consolidation act, the proposed bond issue for the improvement and extension of the garbage disposal plant and the proposed bond issue for the development of bathing beaches and small parks. None of these measures was opposed on principle but on account either of temporary conditions which would make unwise their adoption at this time or defective provisions which can be remedied before the proposals are again submitted.

Thomas W. Allinson, head resident of the Henry Booth House, is the new chairman of the City Club Committee on Parks and Playgrounds.

There has probably never been as much noise in the Club as on election night, November 7th. It was one of the best attended affairs in the history of the Club. Nearly six hundred persons were served in the restaurant and many others who did not attend the dinner came in to watch the returns.

Carl E. Ingram has been appointed chairman of the Fire Protection Committee of the City Club.

The Accident Prevention Committee of the City Club has a new chairman, Doctor Morris Fishbein, who is on the staff of the Journal of the American Medical Association.

The dues of all members of the City Club who went to the border have been remitted for the period of their military service.

C. Colton Daughaday and S. Bowles King represented the City Club on a reception committee which went to Fort Sheridan on Saturday afternoon, October 28th, to present the welcome of the city to the First Illinois Cavalry and Batteries B, C, D and E, of the First Illinois Field Artillery which have recently returned from Texas.

Since the last Bulletin was issued the following persons have joined the Club:

Worth Allen, Lawyer.  
A. J. Anderson, President, J. C. Anderson, Inc., Contractors.  
George J. Anderson, Assistant Secretary, Sunday Evening Club.  
F. J. Bachelder, Engineer.  
John E. Bacon, Mitchell Bros. Publishing Co.  
Maurice E. Baird, Bi-Lateral Fire Hose Co.  
Douglas F. Beach, Conkling, Price & Webb, Insurance.  
S. E. Bromley, Salesman, H. T. Holtz & Co., Bonds.  
L. V. Burghoffer, Secretary, H. C. Knisely Co., Wire Glass Windows.  
Francis A. Campbell, Illinois Indemnity Exchange.  
Hiram S. Cody, A. B. Cody & Son, Mortgage Loans.  
Dr. A. J. Cramp, Journal American Medical Association.  
F. L. Dunlap, Chemist.  
Arthur Dyrenforth, Lawyer.  
Alfred K. Eddy, Reporter.  
Frederick T. Ellithorpe, Kaestner & Hecht Co., Elevators.  
Halford Erickson, Hagenah & Erickson, Consulting Engineers.  
Ernest H. Everesz, Everesz & Co., Banking and Investments.  
Hugh W. Ewing, Kerner Incinerator Co.  
J. L. Friedman, Celebrated Players' Film Co.  
Oliver Gale, Advertising.  
Lincoln P. Goodhue, Principal, Holden School.  
James S. Goodman, Herrick, Auerbach & Vastine, Insurance.  
Spencer Gordon, Lawyer.  
H. N. Gottlieb, Lawyer.  
Frank H. Hadley, Provident Life & Trust Co.  
Glenn G. Hayes, Editor "Better Farming."  
Prof. Ralph E. Heilman, Northwestern University.  
Eugene H. Heller, President, Hill Pump Valve Co.  
George L. Johnson, Thos. Cusack Co.  
S. E. Kennedy, Central Electric Co.  
Dr. P. G. Kitterman.  
C. W. Knouff, Manager, Prang Company.  
H. C. Koll, Hartmann Sanders Co.  
John W. Mabbs, Engineer.  
George B. Masslich, Principal, Wells School.  
H. S. Marsh, Electric Storage Battery Co.  
Elias Mayer, Lawyer.  
Frank Mayer, Lawyer.  
William T. McCoy, Teacher, Wendell Phillips High School.  
William A. McKnight, Northwest Life Insurance Co.  
William H. McSurely, Judge, Superior Court.  
D. F. Mellen, Cutler Shoe Company.  
Wilhelm Miller, Landscape Architect.  
Prof. H. A. Millis, University of Chicago.  
James H. Murray, Engineer.  
James W. Northrop, Travelers Insurance Co.  
Henry F. Oates, Northwestern Mutual Life Insurance Co.  
Mark Oliver, Lawyer.



Henry T. Paulson, Secretary to Judge, Juvenile Court.  
 Franklin H. Perkins, Hickman, Williams & Co., Iron.  
 Dr. M. Milton Portis.  
 G. Bleecker Read, Thomas Cusack Co.  
 Ralph J. Richardson, Assistant Secretary, Y. M. C. A.  
 J. M. Rieman, Lyon & Healy.  
 Thomas T. Roberts, Arthur B. Cody & Son, Mortgage Loans.  
 G. L. Rodier, Kimberly & Clark Co., Paper.  
 H. N. Rose, Real Estate.  
 Theo. Scheurmann, Appraiser, Real Estate.  
 Dr. M. J. Seifert.  
 Ralph D. Shanesy, Lawyer.  
 John W. Shera, Guarantee Fund Life Association.  
 W. E. Skinner, National Dairy Show Association.  
 C. E. Snyder, Snyder Outdoor School for Boys.  
 George F. Stahmer, Mitchell, Dillon Coal Company.  
 Max J. Stein, Illinois Realization Company.  
 Douglas Sutherland, Secretary, Civic Federation of Chicago.  
 Leroy C. Towle, Investments.

William S. Taussig, General Electric Company.  
 Andrew R. Tressler, Ballard, Rowe & Whitman, Real Estate.  
 Everett W. Turley, Engineer, Wilson & Co.  
 William F. Turney, A. Wimpfheimer & Bro. New York.  
 Lawrence J. Walsh, Lawyer.  
 G. L. Weaver, Delpark, Inc.  
 Dr. Sidney D. Wilgus, Rockford, Ill.  
 Gale Willard, University of Chicago.  
 Charles S. Winslow, Teacher, Senn High School.  
 Dr. Albert Woefel, Physicians' Radium Association.  
 Prof. Frederic C. Woodward, University of Chicago Law School.  
 Charles P. Wurts, Insurance Broker.

The following Club members have died since the last issue of the Bulletin:

B. C. SAMMONS, September 3.  
 C. F. NEWKIRK, September 18.  
 HOWARD C. HAZEN, October 16.  
 C. H. HELD, October 17.  
 REV. B. F. ALDRICH, November 6.

## PUBLIC MONEY AND OUR GOVERNMENT BUILDINGS

The public-building "pork barrel" in Congress and the general inefficient and costly "policy" of the government in reference to public buildings both in and out of Washington came in for hard criticism recently at the City Club at the hands of Charles H. Whitaker, editor of the Journal of American Institute of Architects. The American Institute of Architects is at the present time urging radical alterations of government procedure in dealing with this very important question. Mr. Whitaker spoke at the Club on October 25th. He said:

"I am going to speak today, from a purely business standpoint, of the public building policy of the nation. In a way it is a misnomer to speak of the nation's building policy. The nation has no 'policy' in reference to the construction of its public buildings. The whole situation is hopelessly mixed up with politics.

"When you go to Washington you naturally assume that the imposing government buildings you see about you house all of the departments of the government. That is not true. Many departments and bureaus are scattered about all over Washington in very inadequate rented quarters—for which a very high rental is paid.

"For fifty years it has been the policy of the government not to put up new public buildings but to rent from private owners, as the needs of the government increase. It has been easier for an administration to pass the problem on to its successor than to run the risk of being charged with extravagance—an increase in current expenses being much less noticeable than a large capital expenditure for new buildings. The result of this leasing policy has been that the government now spends each year about \$650,000 for the most dilapidated, outworn group of public buildings that exists on the face of the earth.

"The buildings of the Department of Agriculture, to mention a single instance, have never been completed as originally planned, but instead additional quarters have been rented at an annual cost of \$131,000 in privately owned buildings, the latest to be occupied having put up under contract with the government particularly for that use. This building rents to the government for \$35,360 and the builder is reported to have taken a sale profit of \$100,000.

"Some of the most important bureaus of the Department of State are housed in rented quarters—one of them in a

private home where some of the most valuable state papers are constantly subject to loss by fire. Other departments are just as inconveniently situated.

"The buildings rented by the Government are of two types: First, dwelling or business buildings not built for office usage, Second, buildings which have been specially erected for the use of a particular department. Space is also rented in commercial office buildings—and to a very considerable extent.

"A lease for longer than one year cannot be made except by act of Congress. Such leases are made for the purpose of inducing somebody to erect a building for the use of a particular department. When such a proceeding is contemplated, the requirements are made known to owners of private property and speculative builders. This is the signal for the prelude. It is expected that the government will make a ten-year lease on such a basis that the builder will be entirely recouped for his investment at the end of that ten-year period.

"In making up estimates for the consideration of the Government each prospective owner puts in his bid at the highest possible figure and includes a good outside price for the building. This apparently helps to fix the rental price at the largest sum the Government can be persuaded into paying. These calculations also affect the lender of money and make him look more kindly upon his share of the proposition, which is to take care of the builders' mortgage. For some time no one knows who will really land the plum, but everybody likes to make a little bet. First, the owner of the land, then the lender of the money, next the actual builder, who has to get a round discount because part of his payment is in unmarketable second-mortgage paper, and finally the holder of the equity, who hopes to sell on the showing the investment makes with the return secured by so good a paymaster as "our country." The 10 per cent basis, which is commonly accepted as that upon which Congress may be expected to sanction a ten-year lease, generally means that the Government is paying interest at the rate of about fifteen per cent upon the actual investment. The Navy Building, for instance, is said to have cost \$285,000 and rents

for \$40,000. This rental was capitalized on the usual 10% basis and the building sold for \$400,000.00.

"In 1909 Congress appropriated \$3,500,000 for land and for the construction of new buildings for the Departments of State, of Justice and of Commerce and Labor. Later a competition participated in by sixty of the leading architects of the country was instituted to provide



NAVY DEPARTMENT OFFICES

Assessed value \$190,000.00. Real value, \$285,000.00. Annual rental, \$40,000.00.

Net return to owner, 12%.

plans for these new buildings. The prizes were awarded, the plans revised and approved by the government and formal contracts entered into with the successful architects. In 1914, two bills were submitted for an appropriation to carry out the plans for the building for the Department of Justice. Neither bill, however, passed and instead a ten-year lease under the old system at an annual rental of \$30,000 has been entered into for a building to be put up for the purpose by a private owner.

"The agitation to induce the government to put up its own buildings meets with tremendous opposition from the real estate interests of Washington. Washington is not a commercial city and the large number of old buildings as well as those which have been especially put

up to be rented to the government, cannot be rented for any other use, although some of the recent buildings have been erected in such a way that they may be converted into hotels or apartment houses when no longer required by the government. A change of policy on the part of the government would, the real estate interests believe, knock the bottom out of the real estate market in Washington.

"Aside from the purely business features of this situation a result of the leasing policy is that the construction of these private buildings is spoiling plans for the architectural improvement of Washington. The buildings, put up for the use of the government, even the newest and best of them, are of a commonplace type, to say nothing worse of them.

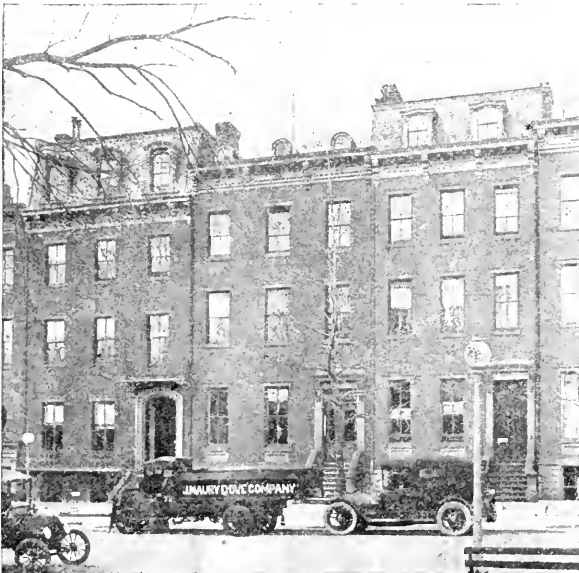
"Congress recently appointed a commission, consisting of representatives of the House and Senate Committees and certain government officials, to work out a public building plan for Washington. This commission as yet, however, has not started its work.

"Outside of Washington, too, the public building policy of the government is deplorable and debauches the whole country. Any congressman has the right

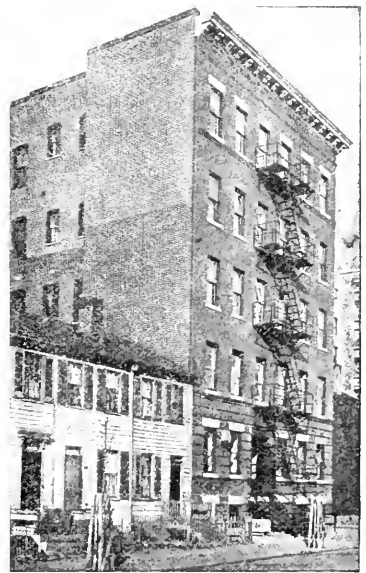
at any time to introduce a bill for a public building. Seven hundred and fifty such bills, aggregating about one hundred million dollars, were introduced this year. In practically no case has any such bill had a responsible business investigation made as to its merits.

"When a bill is introduced it is referred to the Committee on Public Buildings, which later makes a selection according to political needs and then brings in what is known as the omnibus public building bill. The public building bill this year, not yet passed, aggregates in amount about \$35,000,000. In not one case has any competent and sufficient business evidence been introduced in the hearings on these bills before the House and Senate Committees,—nothing but boastings as to the growing character of the community to be served and what the postal receipts will be. Representative Mondell of Wyoming, for instance, wanted three post office buildings in small towns in his state, costing \$75,000 each, although the total annual postal receipts of each of these towns was less than \$5,000—one less than \$3,000.

Chicago is asking for a new post office. Between four and five million dollars



DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
One of several buildings occupied by the department. Important state papers kept in this old building. Net return to owner, 4¾%.



DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE—  
VARIOUS OFFICES  
Net return to owner, 9¾%.

have been asked for the purchase of real estate for a site for this post office. Now, under the present system, practically the only way in which Chicago congressmen can secure these funds is to throw away twenty or thirty million dollars for small post offices in places where they are not needed.



THE BIEBER BUILDING

Built for the Bureau of Markets, Department of Agriculture. Assessed value, \$182,744.00; real value, \$274,000.00; annual rental, \$35,360.00.

Within short distance of uncompleted government buildings for Department of Agriculture.

Net return to owner, 11%.

"What is the remedy? I don't pretend to have one. I only know that there

ought to be business consideration of the need for public buildings before they are authorized. We ought to know, for instance, at what point, perhaps as judged by the amount of receipts, the postal service in a given community requires a building of its own—at what point it becomes more economical for the government to own than to rent its post office space. No study of the postal system from this point of view has ever been made and the information is not at hand on which a real policy can be based.

"The American Institute of Architects, whom I represent, is beginning a campaign to stir up public sentiment on this question, both as to buildings in Washington and buildings throughout the country, and is trying to secure a change in policy. It suggests that a Commission of Five be appointed to study the public building policy of the government and to make recommendations. This Commission we think, should be composed of one representative each from the American Institute of Architects, the Joint Conference of Engineering Societies, the National Association of Contractors and Builders, the National Real Estate Exchange, and the National Association of Commerce.

"The government must adopt a wise business policy in the erection of its buildings, and there is no doubt whatever, but that it would be reflected, in the course of time, in the states and municipalities of the country and would tend to tone up everywhere the character of our public buildings, and destroy the political depravity with which the processes of appropriation and erection are so frequently infected."

## SOME ASPECTS OF THE BIRTH CONTROL QUESTION

Birth control has been hailed by some of its advocates as the greatest discovery of the nineteenth century. Prof. James A. Field, of the University of Chicago, addressed the City Club on this subject October 20th. He said in part:

"Birth control as a practice is not a new thing in America. As a matter of public discussion, however, it has come into this country rather lately and picturesquely, with all the publicity and

dramatic effect that naturally surround a trial which has rivetted public attention. The trial of William Sanger in New York, for the alleged circulation of birth-control literature has aroused nation-wide interest; organizations for free speech have been formed, arrests have been made, mass meetings have been held—and as a result the subject has been very thoroughly brought before the public. It has now even made its way

into the field of the moving picture theatre.

"The propaganda for birth control has an instructive history. Malthus' *Essay on the Principle of Population*, in 1798, advanced the theory that the chief cause of poverty is the insistent pressure of population upon the food supply. Malthus held originally that this power of increase in population is so hard to control that we can never decisively alter it. Being of the Church of England, and conservative in his views of morality, he believed that the only alternative to this impoverishment of the people through increase in numbers was prolonged abstinence from marriage. Thus, while Malthus was an innovator in his analysis of the causes of poverty, he made no very practical suggestion for a remedy.

"Among the most convinced of the disciples of Malthus was Francis Place, whose keen mind and remarkable political influence made him a leading spirit in social reforms of his day. Place was a workingman. Fifteen children brought him intimate experience of the overpopulation against which Malthus had protested. On the other hand, he was firmly against Malthus' expedient of deferred marriage. He contended that, for the mass of mankind, prolongation of a nominal celibacy would mean the practical certainty of intolerable vice. Early marriage must, then, be made consistent with small families. The solution, as he saw it, lay in artificial limitation of the number of children. In this conviction he became one of the prime movers in an early leaflet propaganda which, beginning in 1823, attempted to carry its revised Malthusianism into the field of actual social re-adjustment.

"The Neo-Malthusians of this period centered in a group of radical utilitarians, including, besides Place, Bentham, James Mill and John Stuart Mill. They took the position that, having now ascertained this important cause of poverty, society was under obligation to re-define its morality in terms of its new knowledge. The spread of this knowledge was at first largely among the industrial classes of London and Lancashire. We find many of the radical labor leaders at this time taking up the Neo-Malthusian propaganda. Later it was supported by

radical members of the medical profession, who had observed in their practice the pathological results of asceticism. These two lines of agitation—the economic and the medical or biological—converged into the Neo-Malthusian movement of the seventies.

"This movement of the seventies was closely linked up with other radical movements of the day. Its prominent leaders were the noted secularists, Charles Bradlaugh and Annie Besant. The suppression by the government of an old birth-control pamphlet, unmolested for over forty years, led Bradlaugh and Mrs. Besant to republish the pamphlet with the avowed purpose of testing the legality of the condemnation and asserting the right of free speech. They were arrested and tried for this offence. The trial, before the Lord Chief Justice, was followed with great interest all over England and revived the slumbering agitation for birth control. Before the trial the annual sale of the pamphlet at issue was about 700 copies, but during the three months of the trial 125,000 copies were said to have been sold. Organizations were formed to spread the doctrine. Thus the prosecution, instead of suppressing the movement, served to give it new vitality. Much the same fate has attended other, less famous prosecutions down to the present day.

"Birth control as a specific reform, both abroad and in this country, has nearly always been sponsored chiefly by radicals, partly on its specific merits, but even more perhaps as an issue around which a fight for free speech might be made. It is of course a subject which should be treated on its merits and which should have the most painstaking study by specialists, competent to understand and predict its economic, biological and moral effects.

"Birth control has been urged for widely differing reasons. The early Neo-Malthusian movement had an economic purpose—it was an attempt to reduce poverty by controlling the birth rate. Birth control has also been advocated in later years for the conservation of health. The feeling is widespread that it is inhuman and destructive of vitality to require a woman to bear

children in too rapid succession; and in this connection it must be remembered that birth control is a means of regulating the times of births, quite as much as preventing births altogether. There is also an argument on the ground of eugenics. It is urged that birth control may be used to prevent the reproduction of undesirable types and may thus serve to improve the human stock. But, apart from our uncertainty as to what types are clearly and hereditarily undesirable, it is unfortunately pretty evident that the defectives and degenerates, whose reproduction it is intended to prevent, cannot be depended upon to exercise the restraint and intelligence that would be necessary to effect a rational, consistent scheme of control. And if only the more intelligent and responsible members of the community exercise this restraint, a radically bad reconstitution of the physical basis of society is bound to occur. Nations, too, whose populations exercise control over the birth rate might in war be easily overwhelmed if the practice of birth-restriction had not yet become world-wide. This fear haunted France for a generation before the present war and was latterly beginning to make itself felt in the attitude of Germany to its Eastern question.

"Now as to the economic problem. It may be admitted that one immediate effect of a reduction in the size of individual families would be to lessen poverty. It is yet to be determined, however, whether for the entire population and over a long term of years, after standards of living and conditions of supply had been readjusted to the smaller population, the sense of poverty would be really reduced by any such method. The economic results of birth control must be studied more fully before we can give a reasoned judgment on this point.

"The biological effects of birth control

ought to be easier to determine as physiological conditions are on the whole much more stable than is the standard of living.

"The gravity of the moral question involved in birth-control is not to be underrated. Control of births gives a sudden and momentous power over the conditions of life, and indeed over life itself. The very suddenness of our discovery and our lack of standards drawn from experience of its use confront us with the essential elements of a great moral issue. The problem is not all one-sided. It has great possibilities of both good and evil.

"And yet, practically speaking, our problem is not to decide whether or no the means of birth-control should be made known. They are known very widely, and are largely in practice. Moreover, it seems most improbable that the spread of the information can be permanently checked, or that people who secure the information will refrain from acting upon it. If it is not too fatalistic an attitude, I should say that we might as well recognize the facts and devote our attention to making birth-control play on the whole a beneficent rather than a detrimental part among the recent factors in our civilization.

"Indeed, birth-control is very much akin to the general spirit of nineteenth century civilization. Greater knowledge of scientific fact; greater opportunity to apply that knowledge in deliberately shaping our conditions of life to our rational ideals; finally, a correlatively greater responsibility—these are its roots and its implications. If it is accepted in that spirit we have next to see that the wisest judgment which we can command presides over this problem of readjustment until birth-control has found a more settled place among our devices for social amelioration."

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HELP THE MEMBERSHIP CAMPAIGN BY GETTING THE MAN AT YOUR ELBOW TO SIGN AN APPLICATION BLANK!

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The average number of minors to each acre of park area in the three divisions

of the city is shown in a pamphlet just issued by the Chicago Municipal Reference Library to be as follows:

South Division .....	155.9
West Division .....	470.6
North Division .....	228.2

## WHAT BUSINESS AND GOVERNMENT CAN DO TO PREVENT UNEMPLOYMENT

At a meeting of the City Club on October 23rd, John R. Shillady, Secretary of the Mayor's Committee on Unemployment, New York, discussed the question "What Can Business and Government do to Prevent Unemployment?" He said:

"In the conciliation hearings at the time of the recent Garment Workers' Strike in New York, the fact was brought out that the average period of employment in this trade is twenty-six weeks a year. During slack periods, of course, some of the employes succeed in finding other work, but the Jewish tailor does not make a good iron worker or carpenter and must more or less stick to his own trade. His unemployment during the slack season represents a real hardship. The fact that jobs are open in certain lines of employment, therefore, does not always mean that a field exists for the unemployed of other industries. Even in our prosperous conditions today there is still a great deal of seasonal unemployment in Chicago and throughout the country. And we shall have such unemployment this winter, although some employers cannot find men to fill the jobs which they have open.

"The subject today is 'What can Business and Government do to Prevent Unemployment?' Business and government can do nothing with this problem if they wait till a crisis is upon them. Only in times of prosperity, when conditions are more nearly normal and the problem not too large and immediate, can the measures for dealing with unemployment be worked out. The New York Mayor's Committee on Unemployment, composed of one hundred of the best representatives of the business intelligence of the town, social workers, representatives of organized labor and public spirited women began work in December, 1914, when hundreds of thousands of people were unemployed. They accomplished a little, but the problem was altogether too big and pressing for them to deal with successfully. It was difficult to get New York to realize the seriousness of the situation and to make provision for future occurrences of this kind. It is very

difficult to make an impression on a city so large as New York, particularly where there are so many exciting matters that break into newspapers every day and absorb the public attention. Another difficulty in arousing New York was that the big business men, unlike those of other cities, are for the most part not the managers of business but financial men. They are not in direct contact with the problems of industrial organization and management, and they are accordingly more inclined to regard proposals made by such Committees as theoretical and impractical. However, the Committee did manage to muddle through the situation and actually accomplished a little.

"After the crisis the Committee was re-organized as a small body of twenty members. The feeling of the Committee was that unemployment should be treated as a problem of business and statesmanship—not an emergency problem to be dealt with by charity. We were amused to find that practically all the business men thought it should be handled through charity and all the social workers as a matter of business. The business men thought that the charity problem was easy and vice versa.

"Now what can business do to reduce unemployment? It can do something if it acts while employment conditions are good instead of waiting until a crisis. First of all, business should reduce the labor turn over. Many businesses hire twice as many employes in the course of a year as they need. A report recently made by an official of the General Electric Company on the labor turn over in twelve plants showed that, in the course of a year, in order to increase the working force by about 7,000 men, 42,575 men had been employed—over 35,000 men had quit or been discharged from their jobs, six and two-thirds times the permanent increase in the working force. Another plant that I know about had a labor turn over in one year of over 300%. Another employed 52,000 men in the course of a year but enlarged its force by only 5,000. This sort of thing is common in business.

"A reduction of the labor turn over not only reduces the unemployment problem by giving stability to employment but is of direct financial benefit to the employers. It has been estimated that the cost of hiring and firing a man (depending upon his occupation) ranges from \$35 to \$150. The actual money waste involved in such a labor turn over as these described above is therefore excessively large.

"Henry Ford's plant furnishes an example of the financial return from reducing the labor turn over. Eighty-eight per cent of the Ford employes receive \$5 for an eight-hour day, yet Ford makes more money than anybody else in his line of business in the United States. How is it possible? In 1914 Ford had an average working force of 13,000 men and a labor turn over of 52,000. In 1915, after his new plan went into effect, he had an average force of 24,000 and hired only 7,000 men during the course of the year. Five thousand of these represented an increase in the force, so the real turn over was only about 2,000. The small labor turn-over is a very considerable factor in the profitableness of Ford's plant. The daily absences in the plant have also been reduced from 10 per cent to one-half of one per cent. That business men are beginning to realize the importance of the labor turn-over is evidenced by the formation of employment managers' associations in Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Chicago and elsewhere to study methods of hiring men and keeping them.

"It is very evident then, that employers can help to solve the unemployment question by reducing the volume of its labor turn-over and so giving greater stability to employment.

"The second thing which business can do toward preventing unemployment is to organize industry so as to spread production over the entire year. This is very difficult in some industries but, where production can be standardized, much can be done along this line. A shoe company in Massachusetts, for instance, which had a very heavy seasonal production and long slack periods intervening, so standardized its operations that, as the result of ten years' effort, the number of employes on the weekly pay-

rolls throughout the year now varies within a margin of only about 1%. Various methods were adopted to bring this about. A planning department was created which co-ordinated the processes and routed the work through the factory so that the same number of shoes is made every day. By giving special inducements to customers, orders are secured in advance so that production can be distributed throughout the year. It is possible thus for a business, by regularizing and standardizing its production, to keep its working force regularly employed throughout the year.

"To summarize, business can do two things to reduce unemployment—it can cut down its labor turn-over and regularize production so as to afford greater stability in employment. The business and industrial concerns which have done these things are not those which are going into bankruptcy but those which are making the most money.

"Now, what can government do in dealing with this problem? Government can, first of all, organize the employment market by the establishment of public employment offices. These offices should afford machinery for securing and spreading information as to employment conditions—where jobs are to be had and where men may be found to fill them. The most important thing in the world is news and it should be the duty of the public employment bureaus to furnish employment news.

"The employment office or exchange should be the labor market of the country. This is particularly important because the changes in industrial conditions are today so rapid that there should be some ready means of readjustment. It is the most difficult thing now to choose an occupation because the invention of new processes may make any skilled trade obsolete.

"Public employment agencies can be the most effective agencies in promoting wise vocational guidance. In New York a federation of non-commercial employment agencies has been formed to co-ordinate the placement work of the city. A central bureau investigates establishments where women and children are employed with a view to furnishing information as to the most satisfactory



lines of employment. Advice along these lines is very much needed and the government should provide it.

"The government must ultimately establish unemployment insurance. For the present, however, unemployment insurance is a rather academic proposition because we lack a well co-ordinated system of employment bureaus to test the willingness to work, and because of a lack of agreement as to the principles to be adopted. We must first organize the labor market as suggested above. It is a necessary preliminary to any insurance scheme.

"Government may also aid in reducing unemployment by reserving work on public improvements until times of crisis. If improvements are planned for, say, ten years in advance, government would have a reserve fund of employment to use in times of emergency. This has been done in England, France and Germany and can be done here. The City of Cologne has eleven reserve funds for permanent improvements which do not need to be made at once and these funds can be used to prevent an unemployment disaster. If 10% of the amount spent on public improvements by government and by the railroads were held up in this way for a ten years' period, we would have, in the tenth year, funds sufficient to employ 10% of the working population engaged in trade and transportation and manufacturing and mechanical pursuits for a period of 12 weeks at the average wage now paid.

"A little while ago I made an investigation of government expenditures and found that in hard times our government actually spends less on public improvements than in times when there is plenty

of money and employment conditions are good. Business does the same. The Pennsylvania Railroad in 1914 when conditions were good and rails were cheap made no plans for the future but the next year gave the largest order for rails ever given at the highest price ever paid.

"In July of this year President Wilson signed a bill to provide a government subvention to aid states making appropriations for good roads. If these funds were reserved to be used during periods of unemployment it would aid materially in meeting the situation.

"The carrying out of such a plan may seem rather remote but things sometimes happen very quickly. No body would have been willing to admit two years ago that the United States would appropriate \$600,000,000 for a war that nobody really believes will come. John Mitchell has said that the labor organizations of the country were working for employers' liability only one year before the workmen's compensation act was passed in New York with provisions which went far beyond what had seemed possible of attainment before. The proposal is not impracticable—it has been tried elsewhere successfully and can be worked out here if we will seriously undertake the task.

"Government, then, in my opinion can do three things in reference to unemployment: (1) Organize the labor market, (2) create—after this organization has been provided and a careful study of the particular system to be adopted has been made,—a scheme of unemployment insurance and (3) so plan its public works so as to provide a reserve fund of employment in times of crisis."

Dine at the City Club when in the loop for the evening. You will find the Club Grillroom a pleasant place for your dinner, whether alone or with friends. A seventy-five cent table d'hôte is a feature.

Since Kansas led the way in 1901, fourteen other states have adopted systems of absentee voting, according to Professor P. Orman Ray in a recent

article in "Case and Comment." These states are North Dakota, South Dakota, Missouri, Minnesota, Nebraska, Oregon, Washington, Wyoming, Colorado, Vermont, Iowa, Michigan, Montana and Wisconsin.

HAVE YOU MADE GOOD ON YOUR PLEDGE TO GET A NEW MEMBER?

The City Club is *your* Club, why not make the most of it.

## WAR AND THE WORLD'S HOPE

Is war an ineradicable instinct of mankind? Is the impulse of belligerency too strong for humanity to conquer and are we to witness in the future a weary succession of wars that will bankrupt our civilization, destroy the culture and the idealism that we have been striving toward and to a measurable extent attained in centuries of effort?

That we can control this impulse if we set our wills to it and establish machinery through which such control can be exercised was the hope held out by Mrs. Charlotte Perkins Gilman, editor of "The Forerunner" and author of "Woman and Economics" and other books, in an address at the City Club, Monday evening, October 16th.

Mrs. Gilman prefaced her talk by reading, as an example of the appeal that the war spirit has to mankind, some excerpts from an article by Joseph Lee of Boston, published in the Survey shortly after the beginning of the war. Mr. Lee wrote:

"If we want permanently to abolish war we must, as in the case of the saloon, find an effective substitute. And to find such substitute, or even intelligently look for it, we must first recognize, how great a thing war is and how high a place it holds among the instinctive interests of the human race. For we shall never abolish war in favor of something on a lower plane. If what we have to offer is not finer, more satisfying to the ideal aspirations of mankind, we shall not succeed in having it substituted and shall not deserve to do so."

Later on he referred to war as "this institution upon which the human race has been hammered into shape during the thousand centuries of its development." In another place he said: "War is an ultimate, what in lesser instances we call a sport, a directly satisfying human occupation."

"And the instinct of mankind is right. Horrible as are many of its effects, war is not bad, but good; good in the main and as an active principle, as all real life is good, good in especial as the expression to the highest power of a constant, ineradicable ideal of the human soul."

"This," said Mrs. Gilman, "coming from a Boston social worker, seems to me one of the most glowing tributes that has ever been paid to war, except per-

haps the exclamation of the Hindu prince when he witnessed the fighting in Europe: 'All war is beautiful, but this war is heavenly.'

Mrs. Gilman entered a vigorous denial of the claim that war is an educative institution and an instrument of progress. Compare, she said, those races which have had warfare and almost nothing else in their scheme of life—the Turks, for instance, whose conquering of other nations has always meant the blocking of their development—with nations which have developed the arts of peace. Which have contributed more to mankind? Or compare the progress of a nation when it did nothing but fight with the progress of the same nation when it had time for something else. War is destructive, it is not an educative or constructive force.

"To understand war," she continued, "we must go back of our merely human civilized instincts into the impulse of belligerency that is to be found among savages and the higher animals. The fighting instinct is essentially a male impulse and it simply is not true that 'the female of the species is more deadly than the male.' We have lived so far in a masculine man-made world and it has been a world of fighting. The male creature only has this instinct of belligerency and it is the right instinct *in its place*. Its place, however, so far as humanity is concerned, was before civilization had developed when the maintenance of the race depended on fighting. The growth of agriculture and the arts has made it unnecessary. At its best it is a physiological sub-human process, not a social process."

"War has become a deep-seated habit of the human race. Trained by many centuries of warfare, mankind has become saturated with it and has built up a war psychology. This martial psychology we teach to our children, we teach it in our homes, our schools, our churches, our hymn books are full of it—"Onward Christian Soldiers, Marching as to War." It takes a strong pacifist indeed not to respond to the music of the drums. We apply martial terms to

everything—even the most unmartial. Life is described as a battle and when the doctrine of evolution was offered us, what did we understand it to mean? The doctrine of growth? No, it meant the 'struggle for existence and the survival of the fittest.' This is what evolution means to most people today.

"Underlying all this martial psychology, of course, is the sincere belief that combat, struggle, is the essence of life. But since agriculture began, progress has depended on something else than fight. Progress goes on through growth of industry without the faintest element of combat. 'Business,' it is true, involves struggle but 'business' is concerned with the division of the product of labor and is in the main predatory. Working is not fighting, although we may fight as to who is to have the product. The great processes of industry are processes with which fighting has nothing to do.

"The world is really further along than we think. We are already in a state of civilization where, if we would, we could live in peace and in a relation of mutual service that would multiply the happiness of the world manifold. We have wealth enough, intellect and skill enough and even good will enough to have our people happy, contented and well. We fail to have these things simply because our emotions and instincts are behind our intelligence—centuries behind.

"Many people are discouraged by this war. I am not. The war is really no worse in *proportion* than the long record of the past when war was almost a normal activity of mankind. The war is simply a lapse and against it we must set the whole moral progress of the world down to date. Consider the peace movement, for instance. In the black days of the Napoleonic wars, there was no such movement and the fact that it exists today is a part of the hope of the present. That it has been laughed at today is nothing; everything is laughed at when it is small.

"When people talk of peace they talk generally of one of three things: one, 'Peace' with a great flourish like 'Faith,' 'Love,' and 'Happiness'; two, how to stop the war; three, how to live so as to have no more wars in the future. It is the last which is really the only import-

ant thing for us to consider. We should begin now to study the causes of this war and then, so far as we can, apply constructive remedies:

"A. To prevent trouble in our own country.

"B. To take part in the next great step of practical politics—the gradual federation of the nations of the world.

"To bring about a real federation of the states, it is not necessary that you should love all the people in the world. If you are an American you have a 'love of country' but do you, for that reason, love all the people in it? It is not necessary that you should know and love all the people of the world to realize the necessity of forming a vigilance committee of the nations to put an end to war. This is the great step which must be taken in world politics.

"To do this we must deliberately set to work to change the national psychology. We must make a different kind of people, a people not responsive to the emotional appeal that leads to war. Humanity is not merely a product of inheritance and breeding, it can be lifted ahead of its ancestry by education and a proper social environment. Hitherto the child has been subjected simply to the influence of his immediate surroundings, which are pervaded by the war psychology. He is rapidly crammed with all the old ideas. We teach him shame, we teach him sin, we teach him all our old prejudices, we imbue him with our war spirit.

"In educating the youth of the next generation, we will need a new history. Our histories have been written to show our own wonderful qualities and accomplishments and the wickedness of other nations. We can never have a proper understanding among the nations while this sort of history is taught. We must teach the child that while nations differ, civilization is one thing and that many of our finest political and possessions are the contributions of other nations. We must teach *world-history* and *world-progress* and must blot out of our minds that which only takes account of the wickedness of other countries. So we can begin to write the new history of the new world."

## THE MEXICAN SITUATION

Declaring that there had been "atrocities" on both sides of the border and that intervention by the United States would mean conquest and the ultimate creation of a Mexican *irredenta*, as perplexing as any in Europe, President David Starr Jordan of the Leland Stanford University in an address at the City Club Monday evening, October 16th, attacked those interests in the United States which have been urging intervention. Dr. Jordan described conditions in Mexico which have lead up to the present revolutionary movement.

"Mexico," he said, "is a nation of great national resources, populated by about 14,000,000 people of Indian or part Indian blood and 1,000,000 persons of pure Spanish descent. These latter make up the wealthy class of Mexicans called the Cientificos, possibly because of their "scientific" methods of squeezing out the owners of small farms and appropriating these farms into their great haciendas. The other fourteen million people of Mexico have no property whatever but for the most part live on the great haciendas practically as slaves.

"When in El Paso, I met the exiled owner of such a hacienda, a great tract fifty miles wide and sixty miles long. This man was of the best type of Mexican, with a fine son and a charming daughter. On the hacienda many peons worked, all of whom were in debt, for the younger generation inherit the debts of their fathers. These debts made it practically impossible for a peon to leave the hacienda, particularly as there was an unwritten law among the owners that no employment would be given by any one of them to a peon leaving another hacienda. Only when Americans came and opened mines was it possible for the peons to find outside employment.

"The peons on these haciendas have no schools and most of them live on tortillas, black beans, red pepper, cigarettes, black coffee and pulque, a liquor obtained from the century plant and very intoxicating when taken in quantity. In all respects, the work of the owner of the hacienda is law. Few of the peons get away from the system which practically

binds them as slaves to the soil but some do make their way into the mountains and live as bandits by raiding the haciendas. These conditions are typical throughout Mexico and are the reason for being of the Mexican revolution.

"The other million of the population of Mexico, the Cientificos, are for the most part a kindly and hospitable people. I am not blaming them individually for conditions. The fault is largely that of the system—a system which existed in France and Spain before the French revolution and has not been wholly eradicated yet.

"Another factor in the Mexican situation is the church. Besides the distinctly religious organization of the church, are establishments of monks and nuns, some of which are for charitable purposes, others whose functions seems to be mainly that of absorbing farm after farm and of so increasing the property holdings of these orders.

"When Mexico revolted from Spain it failed to finish the revolution by doing away with the Spanish system."

Dr. Jordan traced briefly the historical background of the Mexican revolution dealing particularly with the administration of Diaz. Diaz, he said, ruled his people by a peculiar combination of affection, force and chicanery. He allied himself with powerful forces going into Mexico from foreign lands and made many grants to these outside interests to strengthen his power—railroad grants, mining grants, oil grants—even giving away government property to these interests. Of these concessions the interests in the United States received the most, about thirteen points in a total of thirty.

"The business of protecting concessions in foreign countries and of collecting bad debts by armies and navies" Dr. Jordan said, "is not recognized in international law or morals. It is the doctrine enunciated by England at the lowest moral ebb of its diplomacy. As one writer has described it: Men go into a country where they have no business to go, get possession of property which they have no business to hold, get into trouble and call on their own governments for

protection and so afford an opportunity for invention and the establishment of a sphere of influence. This thoroughly vicious system is the fundamental trouble in Europe today—the struggle of the nations for the privilege of exploiting undeveloped colonies. Germany, for instance, would like to take India from England. India has been a loss to England as a nation, but many individual Englishmen have gotten rich through it. This doctrine is the most dangerous article in diplomatic practice of Europe today and is the basis of the common ruin into which the nations have plunged themselves."

The revolution of Felix Diaz against Madero, Dr. Jordan stated on the basis of information which he held to be reliable, was financed by large British banking interests. Huerta, too, he said, was simply a tool of British commercial interests. "We ought to be very thankful," Dr. Jordan said, "that President Wilson did not recognize Huerta and did not send our army to put Mexico 'in order.' The Mexican revolution is an effort to bring the peon out of slavery and that revolution must go on. If we had recognized Huerta we would have delayed the success of this revolution for many years with much blood shed and destruction in the long run.

"There are those in this country who are urging intervention and the conquest of Mexico. Such an event would mean the eternal hatred of the Mexican people against this colossus of the north, as they regard us. It would mean the creation of a Mexican *irredenta*, as troublesome to us as the Trentino has been to Austria. Some of our interventionists urged intervention as revenge for the Mexican 'atrocities' and to prevent their recurrence. Others see the thing simply in terms of easy money. In El Paso and other places along the border today a queer collection of individuals is gathered—General Funston called them 'vultures'—waiting for American intervention to secure for themselves large personal profits. America will never go to war through the influence of these men."

Dr. Jordan stated that there had been 'atrocities' on both sides of the line. Americans he said, were horrified at the Villa raid on Columbus, but did not know

what was back of that raid. Shortly before this raid, a group of twenty Mexicans had crossed the line into El Paso to find work. They were captured, taken aside and given a gasoline bath. In the process somebody dropped a lighted cigarette and the building burned up with the twenty Mexicans. There was not a word of this in the American press but the story made a profound impression in Mexico and Villa vowed he would make a torch of every American he could catch. It was shortly after this that the raid on Columbus occurred.

"What," Dr. Jordan concluded, "is the hope of the future for Mexico? There is more ground for hope today than ever before. The reforms, under the new government, will be accomplished largely through the education of the peon and such heavy taxes on the large haciendas that the owners will be forced to split them up. Since the publication of Turner's book on 'Barbarous Mexico,' the state of Yucatan has made tremendous progress along these lines. Large land holdings have been bought by the state and sold on easy terms to the peon with the understanding that these farms will revert to the government if they are not worked. In this way thrift is encouraged. The number of schools in that state has increased from 200 to 2,600 and many other reforms have taken place.

"The states where there is trouble now are those where there are great foreign concessions and where people are out of employment because the mines and the smelters are closed. I truly believe that there would be little trouble in the State of Chihuahua which borders the United States if it were not provoked by American interests in Western Texas. The revolution would have been over long ago if it had not been for the intermeddling of men on this side of the border. Certainly the time has not come when we can do anything worth while by forcible intervention."

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Don't forget that ladies accompanied by members, are accorded the privileges of the Club after four o'clock.

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IT IS EASY TO GET A NEW MEMBER IF YOU TRY HARD ENOUGH.

## THE ADAMSON EIGHT-HOUR LAW

The Adamson eight-hour law, recently passed by Congress changing the "basic day" of employes in the railway freight service was discussed pro and con at two noon-day meetings at the City Club October 28th and November 3rd. The first meeting was addressed by Mr. William G. Lee, President of the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen, the second by Mr. Edward P. Ripley, President of the Santa Fe Railway Company, leaders in the negotiations at Washington.

Figures sworn to by the railway managers in 1913, Mr. Lee asserted, indicate that 75% of the freight trains operated west of the Mississippi River were operated on a speed basis better than that contemplated by the Adamson Law in its provision for a basic eight-hour day. This should be conclusive evidence, he declared that the system can be operated successfully on this basis. The unwillingness of the brotherhoods to arbitrate, he stated, was due (1) to the fact that the railroad companies wanted to exclude from the negotiations about 75 of the smaller railways of the country—many of them mere subsidiaries of the larger lines—where it was believed that the men could be beaten and (2) to the unwillingness of the men to throw into the balance conditions of employment (including the eight-hour day which had already been obtained for a large number of men) which had been secured by hard effort in the past and had become fixed conditions of employment.

Mr. Lee placed the failure of the negotiations directly upon the railroad managers. He declared that the brotherhoods waived fully 50% of their de-

mands in acceding to the President's proposal. "The brotherhood," he said, "do not know whether the new law will work or not, but they are willing to bow to it and see that it has a fair trial." In conclusion, Mr. Lee, referred to the threat of some of the railroad managers that an attempt might be made to reduce wages under the law and stated that if this were attempted, it would at once precipitate a strike and that, this time there would be no conferences or arbitration or negotiations with the President.

Mr. Ripley declared that the President had admittedly made up his mind before his conferences with the railway managers and the brotherhoods that the eight-hour day should be granted and that on this point he was immovable. The President, however, told the representatives of the companies that if this should constitute an additional burden upon the railroads, they ought to be allowed to make up the difference in rates. This the railroads would not assent to. It would have been, Mr. Ripley asserted, "a corrupt bargain" under which the cost of the experiment would have to be paid out of the pockets of shippers and the general public.

"Nobody knows," said Mr. Ripley, "what this law means or how it can be applied to existing conditions. Nobody pretends to construe it and the best legal opinion is to the effect that it cannot be construed to be a legal and binding statute. This means that if the railroads tried to enforce it as it reads there would be a strike, because it would seriously reduce the wages of a large class of the best and highest paid men."

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Harvard university is to extend its instruction to police officers in Cambridge. Plans were recently announced for a course in the duties of police officers. Raymond B. Fosdick of New York, regarded as an expert on police methods, will be the first instructor. His teaching, which will be in day and night classes to allow members of all police shifts to participate, will deal largely with the matter of organization, the

keeping of station-house records, identification systems, and to some extent with psychology as it relates to the interrogation of persons arrested. Mr. Fosdick addressed the City Club of Chicago several months ago on police methods in Europe and America.

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DO NOT FORGET THAT NEW MEMBER YOU ARE TO GET.

## "FIRE PREVENTION DAY"

"Fire Prevention Day," the anniversary of the Chicago Fire, was celebrated at the City Club, under the auspices of the Fire Protection Committee of the Club on October 9.

Joseph B. Finnegan, Professor of Fire Protection Engineering, spoke of the necessity of education in fire protection. "The excessive amount of the annual fire waste in this country," he said, "has been ascribed to several causes: to the rapid growth of the nation and the consequent tendency to hasty methods of construction; to the extensive improper use of wood for structural purposes; to climatic conditions in some parts of the country; to incendiarism—which is in my opinion much less important than is generally supposed. It is beyond question that these material, tangible causes are in a large measure responsible, but in addition to all of them and implicated with most of them is the intangible cause—the national attitude of mind toward fire hazard. The material causes will have much less effect when our people as a whole have been brought to a clear realization of the nature of these causes and of the means available for counteracting them.

"In one of its aspects, public education in fire prevention will mean better building construction, better design and installation of protective equipment, better safeguarding of industrial processes involving fire hazard. In its more intimate, and as I believe, its more important aspect, the new state of mind toward fire loss will manifest itself in little things, in a constant attitude of defense against fire in the home, the office and the factory."

Professor Finnegan concluded his ad-

dress with an outline of the work of the different agencies for the instruction of the public in fire prevention, including the National Fire Protection Association, the various periodicals devoted to this subject, the National Board of Fire Underwriters. Increased recognition of fire protection engineering in the technical schools of the country is, he said, a hopeful sign for the future.

Following Prof. Finnegan, Mr. John C. Howatt, Chief Engineer of the Board of Education, spoke of fire protection measures in the public schools. The most careful methods of construction, he said, including provision of adequate corridors, stairways, exits, etc., are adopted. Fire drills, are given. Records show that in these drills from one-half to four minutes are taken to clear a building.

Mr. Howatt declared that the schools are adequately protected from fire. "Only thirty fires," he said, "have been reported in Chicago school buildings in ten years and most of these were just incipient blazes. The most serious loss, occurring to the Wadsworth School, was only \$25,000 and the entire loss has been only \$400,000. There has never been a loss of life. These figures, I believe, show that there is no safer place for the children of the city than in the public schools."

The final speaker was Charles B. Scott, President of the Chicago Division of the National Safety Council, who declared that fire and accident prevention are not so much matters of mechanical safeguards as of the interest and co-operation of employes and the public. They must be taught the truth that they are the chief beneficiaries of fire or accident prevention and that the burden of accidents always falls upon them.

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The Boston City Club has arranged for a public forum for its members, to be held on certain Monday nights during the winter. Speakers have been arranged for on various controversial subjects and after the address there will be an opportunity for questions and discussion by the

audience. George W. Coleman, founder of the Ford Hall Forum, who recently addressed the City Club of Chicago, is chairman of the committee in charge.

Another interesting series of events planned by the Boston City Club is a course of nine law lectures for business men.

## THE ORGANIZATION OF SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH

Dr. George Ellery Hale, chairman of the National Research Council, addressed the City Club on October 26th on the "Organization of Scientific Research." Dr. Hale had just returned from Europe where he had investigated the organizing of scientific research in England and France for the purposes of national defense. He spoke as follows:

"Three years ago I attended a meeting of the International Association of Academies at St. Petersburg. In that conference were representatives of the great national societies of the leading countries of the world. It is certain that the military problems which are so widely the concern of scientific men today were not at that time in the minds of these investigators. The Association was planning to develop and extend its work of promoting co-operation among scientists of every country. No one had any idea that the next meeting, which was to have been held this year at Berlin, would be interrupted by war and that science, as a result of the war would lose for a time its international character, and be devoted in large measure to the purposes of particular states. I do not believe that we shall never return to international science—after the war I think it will again come into its own. But for the time being, all over Europe, the concern of science is mainly with those things which serve the immediate needs of armies and civilians.

"The contribution which science can make to the state has, of course, been recognized for a long time. Science in France was allowed to continue undisturbed through the revolution, for the revolutionists recognized thoroughly its importance to the nation. This patronage of science was continued and extended by Napoleon. When Napoleon went to Egypt he took with him a large body of scientific men to study the country in its many aspects. Napoleon recognized the maxim (in which there is, I think, a great deal of truth) that the nation which is strongest in the laboratory is strongest in industry and war.

"The National Academy of Sciences in this country was formed during the Civil War, when the government began to re-

alize the necessity of scientific advice. Last April the Academy offered its services to the President in organizing the scientific research of the country as a necessary step in preparedness. The plan has received the approval of the President of the United States and work has been started. This work is being done through the National Research Council, formed as a branch of the Academy for the purpose. The aim of the National Research Council is to bring into co-operation existing governmental, educational, industrial and other research organizations with the object of encouraging scientific research in the interest of American industries and the national defense and to promote such other applications of science as will contribute to the national security and welfare. The Council includes men of the highest attainments in pure science, officers of the army and navy, the Director of the Bureau of Standards, the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution and other government officials, and a strong group of the leading representatives of industrial research laboratories. It is intended that the Council shall broadly represent governmental, educational and industrial research. One of the first things undertaken was the formation, at the request of the Secretary of War, of a committee to study the fixation of nitrogen.

"The organization of the National Research Council is in line with two other important movements for preparedness now under way: One, an industrial inventory of the United States started by the Naval Consulting Board, and the other, a census of physicians and surgeons who would be available for service in time of war.

"I returned a short time ago from a trip to England and France in connection with the work of the Research Council. At the beginning of the war there was a serious situation in England because of the lack of good optical glass for the many war uses to which such glass is put (field glasses, gun sights, periscopes, etc.)—practically all of the good optical glass being made in Germany. A firm in Jena had been subsidized by the German government to



study the manufacture of optical glass and the best glass of this sort in the world was made there. When the war broke out England had to study the whole subject afresh. Her scientific men attacked the problem. One of them took a sample of German glass and analyzed it chemically but had to make 800 meltings before a single type of glass—one of the many kinds needed—could be produced.

"It was interesting on my trip to find practically all scientific men at work in this way on problems of immediate practical importance to the government. There were men from all fields, most of them formerly concerned only with the problems of pure science but now at work on these practical questions. Everyone has turned in and appears to be glad to do everything possible to further the national interests in the war. Some of these men are at work on mechanical problems, some on chemical problems, some on optical problems and so on. One of them a French astronomer, has invented an electrical device for detecting the location of shrapnel in the body. Starling, one of the greatest physiologists of England, is working on methods of dealing with poisonous gases. Many other accomplishments of these scientific men could be cited.

"England has established an Advisory Council for Scientific and Industrial Research, which is studying how research can be organized throughout England for the national benefit—not only during the war but in the trade competition which is bound to follow it. Australia, Canada and other colonies are following her example. A passage from the first annual report of this Council will serve to illustrate how closely the various aspects of science are bound together, and how necessary it is that a single body of men should deal with all of them:

War has remained as much an art as ever, but its instruments, originally the work of the craftsman and the artist, are now not only forged by the man of science—they need a scientific training for their effective use. This is equally true of the weapons of industry. The brains, even the very processes, that today are necessary to the output of munitions, were needed yesterday, and will be needed again tomorrow, for the arts of peace.

"America has a number of important

scientific research laboratories already at work, many of them in connection with great industries, such as the American Telephone and Telegraph Company. In England, where the corporations are for the most part smaller than those in the United States, it is proposed that the needs of the minor companies be met by the establishment of central laboratories by associated groups of industries. There is one such laboratory already in this country, the research laboratory of the American Canniers' Association, to which any member of the association may send its problems for study.

"All this work must of course have its foundation in pure science. For instance, Dr. Carrell's new antiseptic surgery, which seems to be one of the most remarkable achievements in surgery resulting from the war, is based on theories which were developed by Pasteur in experiments which had their inception in his study of crystals—a work of pure science.

"The work of the National Research Council will be:

"1st: To prepare a National Census of Research, showing what laboratories and investigators are available.

"2nd: To encourage the co-operation of education and research institutions in working out problems of pure science and industry and to secure also the co-operation of the army and navy authorities in the prosecution of researches relating to national defense.

"3rd: To promote research in various branches of science, in co-operation with leading national scientific societies.

"4th: To encourage scientific research in educational institutions. It is proposed, for instance, that in each advanced educational institution there be a committee on research to promote original investigations on the part of the faculty and graduate students.

"5th: To establish research fellowships in educational institutions, thus affording qualified workers an opportunity to devote themselves entirely to research work.

"6th: To secure, wherever possible, endowments for research purposes.

"7th: To promote the establishment of research laboratories for the development of American industries."

## PLAY FOR SMALL CHILDREN

J. R. Richards director of Playgrounds for the South Park Commission, in a recent address to some committees of the City Club, spoke as follows in reference to provisions which should be made for the play of children below the school age. He said:

"The children below school age must be provided with play facilities near 'the voice of the home.' How this is to be done, is a question that has to be met by particular conditions. The best answer would be a play space in the center of each block or two blocks. This necessitates a definite conception of the play needs of children on the part of realty owners when cutting up property for residential purposes. After an area has been built up, this plan is not likely to be accepted and the provisions for little children must come in some other way. The ways of meeting this need are:

"(1) Setting out playgrounds at proper distances from homes.

"(2) Utilizing streets at certain periods of the day for play and play instruction. Street play, as it is called, is not advisable as a city planning concept, but as a way for a city to perform one of its functions, it may be used to advantage.

"(3) Using existing public properties, such as wide avenues, space around public buildings, etc.

"(4) Playgrounds around school yards for children in the grades. The matter of playgrounds for school yards should be standardized in such things as surfacing, apparatus, segregation and instruction. The hours of operation should be according to the needs of the children and not the convenience of the employees."

The play of adolescents, he said, requires a wider area and a different attack. Provision should be made for all standard competitive games and opportunities for social life. Indoor facilities are therefore needed and the school, particularly the high school, may be utilized.

Mr. Richards urged that the various organizations having to do with public recreation should get to a uniform scheme of attack. Parks, he said, should have a general plan and a co-operative committee should be formed from the present boards. Perhaps, he suggested, the Board of Education should also be included.

## THE TAX AMENDMENT

The proposed constitutional amendment for tax revision, which was submitted to the people of Illinois for approval at the election of November 7th, received a substantial majority of votes cast for it, but whether a sufficient majority to insure its adoption has not been determined as this goes to press. The pros and cons of this amendment were debated at the City Club October 31st by John P. Wilson, chairman of the State Taxation Commission, which originally proposed the amendment, and Stoughton Cooley, one of the editors of the Public.

The purpose of the proposed amendment, Mr. Wilson said, was to do away with the unfairness and inequality of the present general property tax, which is placing so heavy a burden upon certain classes of personal property—particularly credits and corporation stock—that capital is being constantly forced out of the state and the law itself has been brought into disrepute. The courts have

held that the creation of credits and the issue of capital stock by a corporation bring into being new and taxable forms of property (contrary to our common sense, for of course no new physical goods are created). This decision of the courts has resulted in the most unjust double taxation and has tended to make us a community of law breakers.

The amendment, Mr. Wilson pointed out, was not intended to provide in itself a new basis of taxation, but merely to empower the legislature to deal with the subject unrestricted by the requirement that personal property must be taxed uniformly with other forms of property.

Mr. Cooley agreed with Mr. Wilson that the evils of the present taxing system are gross and should be corrected, but opposed this particular amendment as inadequate. Instead of giving the legislature power over the whole subject, it merely allows the classification of *personal* property. "This is a case," Mr.

Cooley asserted, "when half a loaf is *not* better than no bread, for if you take this you will get no bread for a long time." If the amendment were adopted, he asserted, its advocates could, by influencing a third of the legislature—through a lobby or otherwise—prevent the adoption of a more comprehensive

amendment as well as other necessary constitutional changes to which they are opposed. "It is our hope," he concluded, "that if this amendment is defeated those who have been particularly active in pushing it will unite in getting a real thorough-going amendment in the future."

## CIVIC NOTES

The United Charities, in an appeal for financial assistance, states that in the year ended September 30, 1916, 14,506 families, representing over 65,000 persons, were befriended by the organization. An average of one hundred different families asked for help each day. Attention is called to the fact that administrative salaries in the Relief and Rehabilitation Department last year were only 4.6 per cent of the total expenditure of \$331,000.

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Referring to the relation of land values to city planning Mr. Thomas Adams, town planning advisor to the Conservation Commission of Canada, in a recent article said:

"High land values instead of themselves being a form of wealth, are a tax upon wealth. A community is poorer in proportion as land values are higher, for the land values represent the tax which the majority or the productive part of a community pays to the minority for the right to use the land. It makes no difference if the majority are themselves owners of real estate, for the user of the land who is also owner has to debit his account with interest on the capital cost of his site, and taxes, just as much as a tenant. It is therefore true that a system of planning, of assessment and of taxation which encourages high land values is economically unsound.

"Then there are the indirect effects of the absence of town planning and the presence of speculation. They not only increase the direct tax for using the land, but cause waste in its expenditure. Water supply, sewerage systems, lighting, transportation, cost more when they serve large areas of vacant frontage. In many cases development is so scattered that we not only lose interest on our ex-

penditure, on local improvements, but the whole of the capital cost or more, in depreciation, extra cost of equipment, etc. The same considerations apply to street pavements or sidewalks. The financial burden now being caused in many cities by this widespread development has become a serious trouble. Next to overcrowding one might almost say that the worst financial evil in the city is undercrowding, that is, when the undercrowding is taking place without a plan. But over-crowding and under-crowding are usually complimentary, for we encourage both by lack of planning. The vacant lot is the half-brother of a skyscraper and the tenement barracks is the offspring of excessively wide streets and absence of method in street planning. From the same parentage spring the unhealthy home, the dark office and workshop, and the lack of recreation facilities."

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The American Association for Labor Legislation presents the following brief review of labor legislation in the United States in 1916:

"Although few law-making bodies were in session during 1916, the year was marked by far-reaching developments in the field of labor legislation. As in previous presidential years, Congress was interested in labor problems to an unusual degree, and passed three statutes of prime importance. The Kern-McGillcuddy federal compensation bill, drafted by the Association for Labor Legislation and first introduced on February 8, 1913, by Congressman William B. Wilson, now secretary of labor, was finally passed with only three adverse votes and was signed by President Wilson on September 7. This law embodies the best provisions of European experience and of

the improved legislation found in such American states as California, Kentucky, Massachusetts, New York, Ohio and Wisconsin; for the first time it grants to all civil employes of the United States adequate compensation for work injuries. In a second enactment federal power over interstate commerce is utilized for the reduction of child labor. Manufacturing establishments and canneries which, within thirty days prior to the removal of the product therefrom, have employed children under fourteen, or children under sixteen at night or for more than eight hours daily, together with mines and quarries which, within thirty days prior to the removal of the product therefrom, have employed children under sixteen, may not make interstate shipment of their products. A noteworthy addition is made to hour legislation and a precedent is set for the regulation of men's wages in private employments by the federal law fixing eight hours as the standard workday for railroad employes and providing that no less pay shall be given for the shorter unit than for the former ten-hour day.

"Kentucky joined the ranks of states having workmens' compensation laws, with an act having many points of resemblance to the Massachusetts law, and Porto Rico passed an elective measure, making thirty-five states and territories which have now discarded the unsatisfactory employers' liability system. In other states action was taken on women's and children's hours, prohibited occupations for children, accident prevention and factory hygiene, trade disputes, unemployment and improved administration of labor laws. That further new lines of action are at hand is indicated by the creation in Massachusetts of a social insurance commission to study the problems of sickness, unemployment, and old age, which, like the California commission appointed last year, will report to the legislature in January, 1917."

The American Association for Labor Legislation has published an elaborate review of the labor legislation of 1916 by the government and the various states in its Review dated September, 1916.

The third annual convention of the Illinois Municipal League will be held at

the University of Illinois on Thursday and Friday, December 7 and 8.

This organization is a continuation of the former Illinois Mayors' Association; with its membership enlarged to include other city officials, and open to civic and other local organizations and private citizens interested in municipal affairs. Mayor William C. Barber of Joliet is president of the league, and Professor John A. Fairlie of Urbana is secretary.

At the coming convention it is planned to consider proposals for legislation on municipal government at the next session of the general assembly, and also to discuss some of the practical problems before municipal officials. Among the speakers will be Alderman Charles E. Merriam of Chicago; Mayo Fesler, secretary of the Civic League of Cleveland, Ohio; George C. Sikes, of the Chicago Bureau of Public Efficiency; Mayor Martin R. Carlom, of Moline, and Professors F. H. Newell, Edward Bartow and J. M. Mathews of the University of Illinois.

All city officials, civic organizations and others interested in municipal problems are invited.



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Members of the City Club are requested by the House Committee to register guests whom they introduce to the Club in a book provided for the purpose at the cashier's desk.

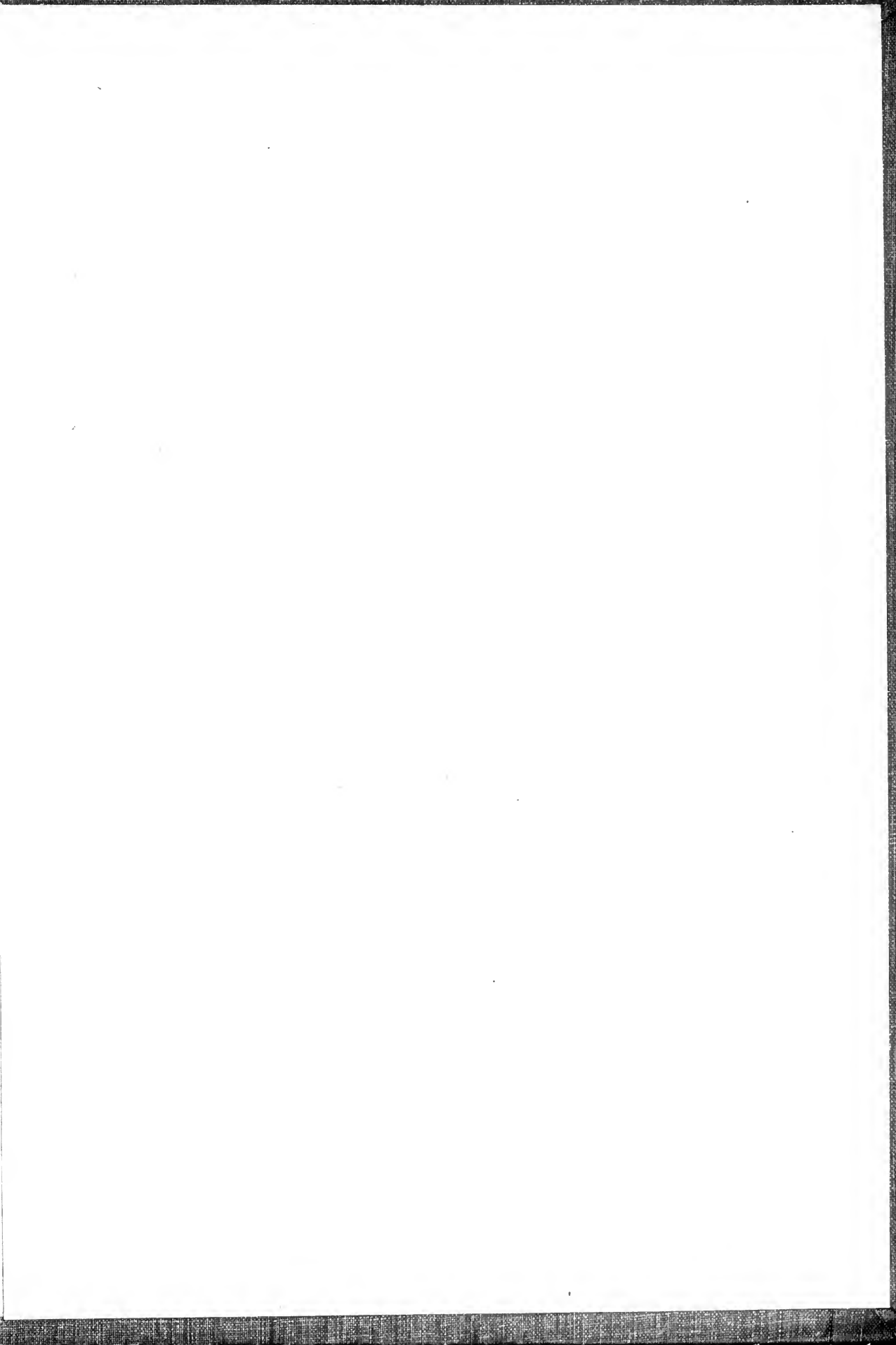












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